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CONTENTS

25 March 1988

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Supreme Soviet Commission Debates INF Treaty	1
Gerasimov Speaks	1
Foreign Delegates Attend	1
GDR, CSSR Envoys Participate	2
CSSR's Stafek Speaks [CTK]	3
Strict Interpretation of ABM Treaty Urged [Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA 23 Mar]	3
Military Council Member on Missile Destruction [IZVESTIYA 23 Mar]	4
Conference on Disarmament Research Ends	5

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

Shevardnadze Holds 23 Mar News Conference [PRAVDA 25 Mar]	6
Shultz on Talks With Shevardnadze, TU Ties [TRUD 19 Mar]	9
White House Spokesman on Upcoming Summit	11
Baker on Senate INF Ratification Hope [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 17 Mar]	11
'Pauses' in INF Ratification Process Deplored [MOSCOW NEWS No 12]	11
Kornilov Criticizes U.S. Human Rights Remarks	12

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Reportage on Rogachev Visit to Philippines	13
'Friendly' Talks With Aquino	13
Urges Spratley Island Settlement [AFP]	14

Near East & South Asia

Afghan-Pakistan Peace Talks Continue in Geneva	14
Work on 'Final Drafts'	14
Talks Resume 'Next Week'	14
Najibullah Remarks Cited [MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA 20 Mar]	14
Border Issue Assailed	15
Border Tribes Rally in Kabul	15
Keshtrand Discusses Current Afghan Economy	16
U.S. 'Urges' Israeli Military Strikes on Arabs [Asilyev]	16
Statement by New PLO Representative to USSR	16

Sub-Saharan Africa

Petrovskiy Concludes Talks in Zimbabwe	17
'Complete Identity of Views'	17
U.S. Mediation Not Opposed [TANJUG]	18

East Europe

More on Transfer of Soviet Forces' Missile Base	18
PZPR's Siwicki Visits Soviet Northern Forces [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 11 Mar]	18
Hungary's Kadar on Reforms, Party Conference [PRAVDA 12 Mar]	18
Describes Main Tasks [PRAVDA 19 Mar]	19
'Revelation' of Bulgarian Elections Described [PRAVDA 5 Mar]	19
Yugoslav Experts Describe Economic Policies [MOSCOW NEWS No 11]	20

West Europe

First Live Moscow-Bonn TV Link Established	23
INF Treaty Discussed	23
Bilateral Ties Appraised	23
Afghanistan, Armenia Reviewed	24
Further on Shevardnadze Stopover in Portugal	24
Meets With CP Leader	24
Holds Talks With Officials	25
Returns to Moscow	25
Supreme Soviet Delegation on Scandinavia Tour	26
Meets Swedish Parliamentarians	26
Soviet Appeals 'Studied'	26
Zaykov To Lead Delegation to Finland 5 Apr	27

Latin America & Caribbean

Ortega Comments on Cease-Fire Agreement	27
U.S. Applies Financial Pressure on Panama	27
Reportage on Uruguayan President's Visit	27
'Joint Statement' [PRAVDA 25 Mar]	27
More on Departure [PRAVDA 24 Mar]	31

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

Politburo Discusses Karabakh, Official Visits [PRAVDA 25 Mar]	32
Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Dissolves Committee [Baku]	34
Further Reportage on Nagorno-Karabakh Events	35
More on Ethnographers	35
PRAVDA Correspondent Suspended [PRAVDA 25 Mar]	36
Sakharov Writes to Gorbachev [DPA]	37
Armenian Nationalist Arrested [AFP]	37
Yerevan Reported Calm [AFP]	37
Intellectuals Issue Appeal	38
Other Intellectuals Appeal	38
Official Outlines Karabakh Development Program [IZVESTIYA 25 Mar]	38
Karabakh Party Chief Pogosyan Interviewed [Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY 3 Mar]	40
Academician Bromley Outlines Nationality Issues [ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 13]	41
Solovyev Attends Leningrad Soviet Session [IZVESTIYA 20 Mar]	42
Biryukova Tbilisi Activities Detailed [Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA 15 Mar]	42
Further on Visit [PRAVDA 19 Mar]	43
Dissident Priest Asks Patriarch To Step Down [AFP]	44
'New Approaches' to Islam Urged in Uzbekistan [Alimov in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 20 Mar]	44
Kazakh Party Meets Media Representatives [Alma-Ata]	46
Estonian Nationalist Demonstrations Described [Bonn DIE WELT 25 Mar]	47
Swedish Weekly on Estonian National Sentiment [Stockholm NU 17 Mar]	47
'A Dozen' Refuzniks Detained in Moscow [AFP]	49
State Committees for Forests, Timber Formed [IZVESTIYA 17 Mar]	50
Restrictions on Mailing Abroad To Be Eased [IZVESTIYA 16 Mar]	50
New State Committee for RSFSR Created [SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 19 Mar]	50
RSFSR Council of Ministers Discussions Held [SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 19 Mar]	50
Agenda for 19 April RSFSR Supreme Soviet [PRAVDA 19 Mar]	51
Children Killed for Transplant Rumors Denied [NEDELYA No 11]	51

Economic

Jan-Feb Industrial Performance Report [EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA No 12]	52
State Acceptance Impact on Construction Viewed [PRAVDA 18 Mar]	56
Poultry Factories Offer Shares to Employees	58

Agricultural

Moscow Farmers Congress Activities Continue	58
Gorbachev Participates in Debate	58
'Critical Remarks' on Draft Law	59
Collectives' Role Assessed	60
Congress Approves Resolution	60
Congress Continues 25 Mar	61

Supreme Soviet Commission Debates INF Treaty

Gerasimov Speaks

LD241258 Moscow TASS in English 1235 GMT
24 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 24 TASS—A regular meeting of the Preparatory Commission, a working body of the foreign affairs commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers, opened in the Kremlin today to produce recommendations and proposals related to the ratification of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on eliminating intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. Georgiy Korniyenko, chairman of the Preparatory Commission, first deputy head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, let Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, to have the floor.

"I see my task in informing the esteemed deputies about how countries and states evaluate the treaty which you are comprehensively analyzing now", the Foreign Ministry spokesman said. He emphasized that the U.S. side supported it. U.S. President Ronald Reagan regards the treaty as a breakthrough, a precedent which can serve as a basis for attaining progress in other areas. At the same time, there are persons in the United States, including in Congress, who principally are against any agreement with the "Reds", including, certainly, the treaty under consideration.

Gerasimov said that U.S. allies in NATO and outside NATO had supported the treaty. For instance, West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl described this document as the "first treaty on real disarmament" and expressed the hope that it could ameliorate the general climate in East-West relations and help build up confidence between the great powers. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher described the signing of the treaty as an historic event and good news for all. French President Francois Mitterrand also gave his approval to the treaty. A collective approval of the treaty rang out at the session of the European Council of the Communities last December.

The world community also welcomed the Soviet-U.S. treaty, Gerasimov said. An agreement was reached for the first time, which will actually cutback the nuclear weapons arsenals that make people shudder, U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar said in this connection. Robert Mugabe, chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement and prime minister of Zimbabwe, and also the leaders of six countries—Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Sweden and Tanzania—positively evaluated the treaty.

Pope John Paul the Second, head of the Roman-Catholic Church, said that the treaty signed in Washington signalled an end to persistent efforts and at the same time opened up hopeful prospects for forging the disarmament process for the future of the cause of peace.

Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman drew attention to the fact that in stating about their approval of the treaty some representatives of NATO raise the issue of "compensation", that is of building up conventional weapons. There is talk about "modernizing" NATO tactical nuclear weapons in Europe. These plans, once implemented, the meaning of the INF Treaty as a breakthrough towards real disarmament will be emasculated, Gerasimov stressed. [sentence as received]

The debate at the session of the Preparatory Commission is continued.

Foreign Delegates Attend

LD241629 Moscow TASS in English 1547 GMT
24 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 24 TASS—TASS diplomatic correspondent reports:

Today's session of the Preparatory Commission which is a working body of the foreign relations commissions of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet, unlike previous session, was attended not only by Soviet parliamentarians, but also by representatives of other countries. Reports there were made in Russian, German, English and Czech. Soviet parliamentarians were interested in the evaluation of the INF Treaty by the world public. Representatives of the GDR and Czechoslovakia, countries on whose territories Soviet shorter-range missiles were deployed, were the first to speak at the session. Vaclav Stafeek, member of the Presidium of the Federal Assembly of Czechoslovakia and chairman of the Foreign Relations Commission of the House of Nations, and Wolfgang Weichelt, chairman of the Commission on Constitutional and Legal Problems of the People's Chamber of the GDR, urged Soviet parliamentarians to ratify the Soviet-American treaty.

The session was addressed by representatives of U.S. and West European public organizations. Werner Henner, chairman of the anti-fascist organization "Flowers for Stuckenbrock" (West Germany), recalled that 65,000 Soviet prisoners of war had been exterminated in the village of Stuckenbrock during World War II. At present the organization regards it as its task to put into practice the mandate inscribed on the common graves: "You, those who live today, see to it that human and interstate relations be based on peace." If a new thinking is gradually penetrating the life, the credit for it goes, in the first place, to a consistent and vigorous policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, Henner pointed out. The signing of the INF Treaty in Washington creates preconditions for overcoming the main contradictions of today.

Professor Frank Von Hippel, president of the American Scientists' Federation Fund, member of the Board of Directors of the international fund "For the Survival and Development of Humanity," pointed out that the very fact of a U.S. representative speaking in the Kremlin

shows that the USSR and the U.S. are facing common problems. The INF Treaty is a landmark in the understanding of the fact that progress can be achieved in the world only in the course of cooperation. The treaty is a triumph of all those who come out for nuclear-free world.

Olli Renn, chairman of the Youth Union of the Centre Party of Finland, who also addressed the session said that the INF Treaty showed that a possibility of disarmament agreements between the U.S. and the USSR, between NATO and the Warsaw treaty, was real. He said that as a young European he urged the USSR and U.S. to take into account, when considering the ratification of the treaty, the viewpoint of all the European nations, of humanity in general, of all those who want our planet to be rid of nuclear weapons.

Tom Leimdorfer, representatives of the East-West Liaison Committee of the "Peace and Quaker Service" organization of Britain, pointed out that the sad experience of SALT-2 should not be repeated, that it was necessary to pave the way for a further disarmament program, for the creation of a world without enemies.

Valentina Tereshkova, president of the Presidium of the USSR Union of Friendship Societies, also spoke of the need for overcoming the enemy image. She read several letters showing the mood of the public in various countries. Connie Zweig from the U.S. said in her letter: "We were enemies too long. It is high time for us to unite in the struggle against our common enemies—hunger, poverty, bureaucracy and the cruelty of hearts."

Summing up the results of the session, Georgiy Korniyenko, chairman of the Preparatory Commission, said that all the reports would be thoroughly analyzed and taken into account during the working out of the commission's report. He pointed out that today's session had made them even more firm in their evaluation of the INF Treaty as the first step towards the realization of the eternal dream of humanity—to beat swords into plowshares.

GDR, CSSR Envoys Participate

*LD241441 Moscow TASS in English 1413 GMT
24 Mar 88*

[Text] Moscow March 24 TASS—Representatives of parliaments of the GDR and Czechoslovakia have taken part in a regular session of the Preparatory Commission, a working body of foreign relations commissions of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet for working out recommendations and proposals connected with the ratification of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Medium- and Shorter-Range Missiles. The session was held in the Kremlin today.

"The treaty signed in Washington last December was the first concrete step on the way of the realization of a highly humane program of the creation of a nuclear-free

world by the end of the current century that was put forward by the Soviet Union on January 15, 1986", said Vaclav Stafek, member of the Presidium of the Federal Assembly of Czechoslovakia and chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the House of Nations. "The concluding of the treaty proves that correctness of new approaches to the solution of key problems of the present-day world put forward by the Soviet Union together with other countries of the socialist community".

The representatives of the Czechoslovak parliament expressed confidence that the elimination of two classes of nuclear armaments would very much promote the lessening of tension, the consolidation of security of European countries, the strengthening of trust and the development of all-round fruitful cooperation. He recalled that the Czechoslovak Government had reiterated its readiness to promote the implementation of the treaty by giving its consent to U.S. inspections at Soviet military facilities situated on Czechoslovak territory.

Stafek pointed out that the signing of the INF Treaty had met with broad positive response among the Czechoslovak public. "The Soviet-American treaty is regarded in Czechoslovakia as a major breakthrough at the disarmament talks which will lead to success at the talks on other types of armaments. It is regarded as a victory of commonsense and reason, as a concrete result of a new thinking in world politics", the Czechoslovak parliamentarian pointed out.

Wolfgang Weichelt, chairman of the Commission on Constitutional and Legal Problems of the People's Chamber of the GDR, who spoke after Vaclav Stafek, pointed out that GDR citizens understood full well that the signing of the INF Treaty was the result first of all of a consistent and flexible peaceful policy pursued by the USSR. "Concrete steps taken by the USSR at the talks were coordinated most closely with its allies. We have always been sure that the interests of the GDR security are reliably protected", Weichelt said. He reported that all the preparations for the implementation of the Soviet-American treaty dealing with the GDR territory that depended on the GDR had been completed there. Weichelt recalled that the withdrawal ahead of schedule of the shorter-range missiles deployed in the GDR had been ended several days before.

"It is truly symbolic that some of the military facilities in the GDR from which weapons were removed are being turned into recreation centres for working people. There is the best way to demonstrate most vividly the striving of socialist countries for real disarmament", he said.

"We believe that we really have the right to urge all those on whom the coming into force of the treaty depends to do their utmost for its immediate ratification. We are sure that the coming into force of the treaty and its realization will start a permanent dynamic process of

deep-going disarmament measures and an obvious improvement of cooperation of states in all the spheres", the GDR parliamentarian said.

CSSR's Stafek Speaks

*LD241749 Prague CTK in English 1541 GMT
24 Mar 88*

[Text] Moscow March 24 (CTK correspondent)—Representatives of the parliaments of Czechoslovakia and the GDR conveyed the position of their countries on the Soviet-American intermediate forces treaty at a session of the subcommittee of the foreign affairs committees of the two chambers of the Soviet parliament, which is discussing the political and military aspects of the treaty.

Vaclav Stafek, the deputy chairman of the House of Nations of Czechoslovakia's Federal Assembly and chairman of its Foreign Affairs Committee, told the session that top Czechoslovak bodies and citizens follow the process of ratification of the INF Treaty with special attention.

He said the Czechoslovak Government had agreed with U.S. representatives carrying out inspection in Soviet military installations in Czechoslovakia, in keeping with a tripartite agreement signed by the foreign ministers of Czechoslovakia, the USSR and the GDR in Berlin last December and a Czechoslovak-U.S. agreement.

Vaclav Stafek said that after approval by the government and the Federal Assembly the two documents will be submitted to the president of Czechoslovakia for ratification and will come into effect simultaneously with the Soviet-American treaty.

The Czechoslovak representative further mentioned the withdrawal of Soviet OTR 22 (SS 12) shorter-range missiles from Czechoslovakia, completed several days ago, and said the withdrawal of the missiles from Czechoslovakia and the GDR was accepted in the world as a goodwill gesture of the USSR and its allies. Unfortunately, the United States and the West European countries where missiles are deployed, do not intend to follow suit, he added.

Vaclav Stafek also recalled the Czechoslovak and GDR proposal for establishing a nuclear-free corridor and a zone free of chemical weapons along the line dividing the Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries, as well as other Czechoslovak initiatives presented at the CSCE Vienna follow-up meeting and in the United Nations.

He said Czechoslovakia's latest proposal to establish a zone of confidence, cooperation and good neighbourly relations along the line where the Warsaw Treaty and NATO states meet follows up the previous initiatives and was clearly supported by the fraternal socialist countries. The Western states have so far made no official statements regarding it, while the developing countries believe the ideas of the proposal could be used

in solving open regional conflicts. Czechoslovakia realizes that the acceptance of the proposal will require a longer time and corresponding diplomatic activities, the Czechoslovak official said.

Strict Interpretation of ABM Treaty Urged

*AU241346 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA
in Bulgarian 23 Mar 88 p 4*

["Commentary" by Lieutenant Viktor Pavlov, "expert on military-political problems": "There Is No Soviet SDI Program"]

[Text] In connection with Ronald Reagan's recent statement at the annual conference of war veterans, at which he once again declared that the United States should continue research on, produce, and test the SDI antimissile program and when ready proceed to the implementation of the program, NOVOSTI submits the following commentary by Lieutenant General Viktor Pavlov:

This is how the President who declares that everyone in the world should observe his international commitments once again exempts the United States from this rule. It turns out that, despite the stipulations of the ABM Treaty, the United States is entitled not only to pursue research, but even to engage in the "production and testing" of antimissile systems and space-based components, which is banned by Article 5 of the ABM Treaty.

As we see from the President's statements, he does not consider himself bound by the recent USSR-U.S. summit declaration issued on 10 December 1987, in which the two sides declared themselves in favor of observing the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972, and not according to a "liberal interpretation."

Reagan, in attempting to justify his stand, tried to set up parallels with the actions of the USSR in the antimissile defense sector. He even pointed out specific figures for the Russians' expenditure on the development of strategic defense—" \$200 billion in the last 10 years." In addition, the President said that in developing military lasers alone, the Soviet Union has recruited 10,000 of its best engineers and scientists. At the same time, U.S. military expenditures amount to \$10 billion in 5 years. As we can see, there is a sharp contrast here.

In this case people on the other side of the Atlantic are trying to present the U.S. SDI program, that is, the "Star Wars" program, as a U.S. effort to catch up with the USSR, since the Soviet Union is allegedly ahead of the United States as regards this type of weapon. In addition, the accent is laid upon the assertion that the USSR allegedly admitted the possibility of developing and testing antimissile space systems within the framework of the ABM Treaty.

However, people in Washington are unable to cite a single example of any Soviet tests to destroy strategic ballistic missiles by laser, tests which the United States

actually conducted in September 1985. Washington is unable to point out facts about the testing of nuclear-pumped X-ray lasers, similar to those that took place in Nevada, in December 1985. Moscow cannot be accused of space experiments, like those carried out by the United States during military exercises known by the code name Delta. The last of those experiments took place in February 1988.

No similar developments, or tests, are taking place in the USSR. We have no programs whatsoever in our country that bear even the slightest resemblance to the U.S. SDI program. The arguments about tremendous expenditures—such as \$200 billion—are absolutely groundless as well.

The U.S. Administration would be very pleased if the USSR were to contribute directly or indirectly to destroying the foundations of the ABM Treaty. This is also the essence of the most recent U.S. draft for an agreement at the Geneva negotiations—an agreement contributing to a transition, on the basis of cooperation, to the deployment of future strategic defense against ballistic missiles.

However, the efforts of the United States to create the impression that the USSR today is allegedly almost prepared to agree to the “liberal interpretation” of the United States, which was specially intended to distort the substance of the ABM Treaty, are futile. The effort to present things so as to make people believe that the Soviet side has already almost agreed to a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons without linking this reduction to strict observance of the ABM Treaty is over hasty.

We should recall once again: The reduction of strategic offensive weapons is only possible on the condition that each of the sides does not try to destroy the existing strategic balance and create conditions for a first nuclear strike by way of developing a large-scale antimissile defense with elements of space basing and in the hope of evading retaliation.

Military Council Member on Missile Destruction

PM241019 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent E. Matskevich dispatch under the rubric “Details for IZVESTIYA”: “How the Missiles Will Be Destroyed”]

[Text] Alma Ata—The press has already reported that trains carrying operational-tactical missiles withdrawn from standby alert on the territory of the GDR and the CSSR prior to the ratification of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles are arriving at Saryozek station in Taldy-Kurgan Oblast. This is an important event which has attracted the sustained interest of Soviet people and disarmament champions throughout the world.

A press conference for journalists, writers, and representatives of creative unions, held in Alma-Ata 21 March, was devoted to this event. It must be noted that the need to hold this meeting was based on the public's wish to learn in more detail what is being done to prepare for the elimination of these terrible weapons and how it will be implemented.

Why precisely in Saryozek? Was it really necessary to transport the hardware so far, right across the country? Will this not harm the environment? To what extent will the material losses be recouped? These are just some of the questions which were answered in detail by Major General G. Chuchkalov, member of the Military Council and chief of the Red Banner Central Asian Military District Political Directorate.

Saryozek is not the only site chosen for the elimination of missiles. Locations for the destruction of specific missiles have also been chosen elsewhere in the country.

Under the provisions, the distance between the site of the elimination of delivery vehicles and their launch installations must be at least 1,000 km. Saryozek meets this stipulation. In addition, a specific technical facilities and service personnel is available in the area. Other advantages include the relative remoteness from major population centers and the local terrain. The site was chosen not just by the military but also by a special interdepartmental state commission which included ecologists.

As for the safety of the operation, which is scheduled to take 18 months, it is fully guaranteed. Only the delivery vehicles and launch containers will be destroyed at the local site by blasting. The nuclear warheads will have been dismantled separately at plants in other regions. Correspondents from socialist countries were able to see this for themselves after the arrival of the first batch of the hardware in Saryozek. A test destruction of dummy missiles of a similar class by means of ordinary explosive in accordance with a specifically elaborated program has been carried out here. The effects do not differ greatly from the conditions of an ordinary artillery test site during test firings.

Several tens of kilometers separate the demolition site from Saryozek, it is located in a depression between clay hills, protective earth embankments are to be built, and attention is to be paid to the wind direction. All this totally rules out the spread of noxious substances.

Soviet and American experts will watch the process and monitor the strict observance of all conditions.

After the demolition, the remains of the missiles are to be smelted, precious metals are to be extracted from the dismantled components of the control system, and the powerful tow-trucks based on the MAZ-543 will be turned into cross-country vehicles, lifting cranes, and similar machines for use in the national economy.

Conference on Disarmament Research Ends

*LD242340 Moscow TASS in English 2246 GMT
24 Mar 88*

[Text] Sochi March 24 TASS—Matters aimed at widening cooperation between institutes of various countries of the world dealing with international issues were discussed here at a conference on the subject "Research in the field of disarmament and a program for the nineties".

The conference, which came to a close here today, was held on the initiative of the United Nations Institute Disarmament Research (UNIDIR) and was attended by the directors, presidents and leading specialists of forty institutes of the world and by delegations from 17 developing countries. They were represented so widely for the first time.

In an interview with a TASS correspondent, UNIDIR Director Mr Janapalu pointed out that there was urgent necessity to itemize a cooperation program in order to rule out duplication and to concentrate research efforts.

Mr Janapalu said the conference determined measures to render assistance to the recently founded institutes in Asian, African and Latin American countries.

Jan Pudlak, director of the Prague Institute of International Relations, described the conference as useful. In his view, possibilities for cooperation between the institutes of various countries are far from being exhausted. He is of the opinion that time has come to devote more attention to the elaboration of practical proposals.

Milan Sakhovic, director of the Belgrade Institute of International Relations, pointed out that intense work in the field of disarmament lies ahead, and that the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles was only the first step in the cause of disarmament.

The same idea was emphasized by Jan Keim, representative of the French Institute of International Relations, who pointed out that the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty for the first time envisaged full elimination of two classes of nuclear missiles.

United States & Canada

Shevardnadze Holds 23 Mar News Conference
PM251411 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Mar 88
Second Edition pp 5,7

[Text] Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and foreign minister of the USSR, held a press conference at the Soviet Embassy in Washington Wednesday, following the conclusion of talks in the U.S. capital.

As you already know, said Eduard Shevardnadze, a few hours ago on the basis of instructions from General Secretary Gorbachev, we have agreed with President Reagan on the dates of his visit to the Soviet Union. Moscow is awaiting the President of the United States of America at the end of May. This is a good time of the year for the fourth summit meeting between the leaders of our two countries in the last 2 and 1/2 years.

This is a good time of the year for the next radical step in renewing Soviet-U.S. relations on the basis of dialogue and constructive cooperation. This is indeed a good time of the year to take a fresh look on the roads travelled by mankind, and to abandon those roads that lead to confrontation in the arms race and heightened international tensions.

All summit meetings that have taken place within the period that in our country we call the time of perestroika and new thinking, have become landmark events in Soviet-U.S. relations. The forthcoming meeting in Moscow will be a logical continuation of the course that began in Geneva, that continued in Reykjavik and Washington. I believe that our common task, our common concern and goal should be to make the U.S. President's visit to Moscow as productive as was Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Washington.

This is why we meet every month, myself and Secretary Shultz, and this, by the way, is our 23rd meeting over the last two and a half years, and we alternate visits to Washington and Moscow. You can logically ask what the results of those meetings are. But before describing those results, including the results of this meeting, I would like to make a remark of a more general philosophical nature.

The meeting in December was marked by the treaty eliminating an entire class of weapons—intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. It is our desire—and we are striving to ensure this—that the forthcoming Moscow meeting be crowned by the agreement on the 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms. But however enormous these achievements of political intellect are in and of themselves, I think that the meeting goes far beyond the fact that they removed from the arsenals of death enormous quantities of nuclear weapons.

The most important and determining meaning of those summit meetings and of the decisions taken there is that, as we see it, they shape a new quality of our relations, which can create a new nature of overall international relations.

Being the product of new thinking, they create new political and socio-psychological realities of the world. If you look at the current situation in a fresh way, then it will immediately become obvious how far from normal this current situation is. Let us look at the relationship between nuclear arms and man. Nuclear arms are necessary for the defense of man, as individual, as representative, and as a continuator of the human race. But at the same time, it is clear today that those nuclear arms threaten man with physical destruction, economic impoverishment, and moral and spiritual degradation.

Therefore, nuclear disarmament is increasingly acquiring an indisputable human dimension which can no longer be ignored. I feel that the meetings between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan increasingly affect this main parameter in an increasingly profound and broad way. And it is quite natural that this human dimension becomes the link that indissolubly relates together the problems of disarmament with regional conflicts, human rights and bilateral relations.

At these negotiations with the secretary of state, we have again discussed the entire spectrum of those problems. Overall, we can say that on each of those problems, there is some movement. There is a step forward. Although those have not been very big steps, each of those steps makes it evident that there is a greater understanding of where to move and on what to focus our efforts.

For example, discussing humanitarian questions, and we began the dialogue with the President, and also with the secretary of state, with those questions of humanitarian nature, we have been able to note that those discussions have become increasingly constructive. And we have agreed that we should discontinue a wholly critical manner of conversation on these matters, that we should abandon this accusatory and denouncing manner of talk on those questions.

In addition to recording facts and events, which are of some concern to each side, it is necessary, in our view, also to note positive trends that emerge in the life of our countries and to consider positive experience, for example, the practice of improving legislation in the sphere of human rights and meeting the spiritual and material demands of people.

Discussions of human rights and all aspects of humanitarian cooperation will continue in a special group of experts, which will remain here and will continue discussions after our departure. We can expect that a special

group on humanitarian questions representing the legislatures of our two countries will be established soon. And I would like to say that this idea emerged in Washington during the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and President Reagan.

So on this avenue of Soviet-U.S. relations, direct movement both ways is intensifying.

Of course, of special interest for us are questions related to an agreement on strategic offensive arms in the context of compliance with the ABM Treaty.

Let me make one remark in this connection. We and Secretary of State Shultz work on the basis of a clear mandate from our leaders, who have instructed us to prepare not just a new agreement, but a good, verifiable and viable document, a treaty on strategic offensive arms, and this is a difficult task.

We fully agree with those who say that the groundwork for a major reduction in long-range arms should be well prepared. Therefore, we give major attention to bringing closer together the conceptual approaches of the two sides to finding a place and a meaning for each detail of the future treaty. Does this remark conceal a lack of real progress? Let me give you an example by way of an answer.

A conceptual outline for a mechanism of verification for long-range sea-launched cruise missiles has now emerged. As you know, this question is one of the most difficult ones. Some people say that sea-launched cruise missiles cannot be verified. We say that they can be, if those missiles are made verifiable. And many methods can be used for that, such as establishing quantitative limitations on missiles, remote verification of the presence of nuclear missiles aboard ships, verification at sites where missiles are fitted with their nuclear charges, and inspection of submarines and surface ships. The U.S. side has found those ideas interesting, and it has agreed that a combination of several methods of verification may, in principle, make it possible to find a solution in this difficult problem, too.

Similar package solutions have been proposed for air-launched cruise missiles and mobile ICBM's. I think it is possible to find a key for solving the problem of rules for counting heavy bombers equipped with cruise missiles.

Overall, the situation now enables us to hope that at the April round of negotiations in Moscow, we will be able to find mutually acceptable solutions on a number of major questions. We have had a generally good discussion of the problem of prohibiting chemical weapons. As recently agreed, we have handed to the U.S. side a draft statement on prohibiting chemical weapons which our leaders could make at their meeting in Moscow.

Of course, not everything was smooth and peaceful during our discussions. We did not expect that that would be so. There were, and there are some differences, but almost all of them reflect differences in the substance of the problems and almost all of them are free from propaganda admixtures. But there were some exceptions, too. I will not remind you of the numerous loud speeches in the West about alleged Soviet superiority in conventional arms in Europe. There have been so many appeals to link further reductions in nuclear arms with the elimination of imbalances in conventional arms. This was particularly emphasized at the recent NATO session in Brussels.

Let me remind you that at the recent meeting between the Soviet and U.S. ministers of defense in Bern, General Dmitriy Yazov spoke of our readiness to exchange data on the numbers of troops of both sides in Europe. Continuing this matter at these negotiations in Washington, we have said to the secretary of state and other administration representatives that in mid-April experts would be able to embark on agreeing upon a list of categories of data which are to be published, and in mid-May, we would be ready to have an open exchange of information on conventional arms and armed forces from the Atlantic to the Urals. This information would encompass data on the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries as a whole, on each of the countries, and on regions—northern, central, and southern Europe.

Let me say, in all honesty, that we were amazed at the response of our U.S. partners. They have shown, to put in very mildly, no great enthusiasm to discuss that question.

Could it be that the Americans are not concerned about the balance of forces in Europe? If that is so, it is then not clear why they have been exploiting so passionately this question of alleged Soviet superiority, why they have broken so many spears about the so-called asymmetries and imbalances.

Let me speak about regional problems now. There was a very serious and in-depth discussion of those problems, not only between ministers but also between top-level experts and specialists.

There was a particularly full discussion of the situation around Afghanistan, of the situation in the Middle East, in Central America, the Iran-Iraq conflict, and some others. Overall, we believe that over these two days a great deal of useful work has been done. These negotiations have become another very important stage in Soviet-U.S. relations.

Question: What is the mystery, that instead of the planned completion of the meetings at 6 p.m., they did not end until 8 p.m.? Is it a good sign or a bad sign?

Answer: Well, I wouldn't call that a record. I remember one occasion last year when I and the secretary of state met for 18 hours. The reason is that we are discussing extremely difficult and complex problems.

Question: The general secretary, Mr. Gorbachev, during his press conference in Washington, said that NATO has considerable military superiority in the southern flank. And last week in Belgrade, he repeated the same line and said that NATO is planning so-called "compensation" precisely on the southern flank. During your visit to Washington, did you raise this issue? And did you make any specific reference to NATO's southern flank?

Answer: Well, as I have already mentioned, we have said that we are ready to publish all data on the armed forces, on the numbers of armed forces in Europe, including Central Europe, and also the southern and the northern flanks. I want to add something else. We raised in a principled manner and with the utmost seriousness the question of naval forces. There has not yet been a thorough, specific, and detailed discussion of this question. We have proposed putting this question on the agenda, and not only from the standpoint of Soviet-U.S. talks. It is a problem that demands the attention of the entire world community.

This problem is of great importance, for example, in the Mediterranean. And it was no accident that M.S. Gorbachev has raised this question in such a fundamental way. It is very topical for northern sea areas, the Pacific, the Atlantic, and so forth. The lessening of military confrontation in the seas and oceans is a very important, a very urgent problem.

Question: Was any agreement or understanding reached regarding the symmetrical reduction or ending of U.S. and Soviet aid to their respective allies in Afghanistan, which would allow the agreement in Geneva to be signed in the next few days? In other words, has the Soviet Union agreed to stop providing aid to the Kabul Government in return for the U.S. cutting off its aid to the mujahidin?

Answer: No agreement has been reached on that question, and no understanding has been reached on that question. And this is because the problem of arms supplies is not contained in the document that has been prepared in Geneva. And since no understanding has been reached on that, this, as we understand, can prevent the United States from acting as a guarantor of non-interference.

Question: Regarding the importance of the economical dialogue, did you discuss with Mr Reagan or Mr Shultz some aspects of, in general, the economical relations between the Soviet Union and the United States?

Answer: I have to admit that we had too little time to discuss economic problems. But we have a very high-ranking working group. It has held two sessions and produced good recommendations.

Question: When you were discussing conventional armaments, did you touch upon those weapons which lend themselves especially to a surprise attack?

Answer: Well, this was addressed. But a more detailed, a more specific and thorough discussion of that took place at the meeting between our ministers of defense. And this is quite natural, because they discussed the question of military doctrines, and it is known that military doctrine is the basis for all military activity [stroitelstvo]. And it is good that our defense ministers have met. This is an event which is unprecedented in Soviet-U.S. relations.

Question: We understand President Reagan handed you a list of 17 dissidents who wanted to emigrate. When will your country allow them to emigrate?

Answer: I have not yet read the list. I have the paper, but I have not yet been able to. And if there is a legitimate reason for them to leave, there will be no obstacles.

Question: You said that the United States has shown no great enthusiasm to discuss conventional arms. Are we to understand that there will be no agreement concerning conventional arms? And why were you surprised at that?

Answer: No, I did not say that there will be no agreement. Now what is involved here is, first of all, the negotiations now underway in Vienna to agree on the mandate and the specific subject matter of the negotiations to take place on conventional arms. As you may have noticed, Mikhail Gorbachev said that there was too much loose talk about the discrepancies [disproportsiya], imbalances, asymmetries, and so on. So he suggested that we should lay out our cards on the table and begin negotiations. So what we are now proposing is to do that even before the negotiations on the reduction of conventional arms begin, to lay cards on the table. And I think this is a very appropriate and fair approach.

Question: And the U.S. was not interested in doing that?

Answer: They responded without enthusiasm. And this is to put it mildly, as I have said.

Question: You mentioned mobile missiles. Is the U.S. still pressing to ban those missiles? And if I may, I have a follow-up question on your remarks on naval forces. Might we conclude from your remarks that, in the negotiations in Vienna on the forces from the Atlantic to the Urals, you want to include naval forces, such as the U.S. Fleet in the Mediterranean?

Answer: As for mobile strategic arms, this is a question that is being discussed. The United States actually is not insisting on the ban. We are discussing all aspects of that question. We are discussing ceilings, methods of verification, exchanges of information, and so on. As for your second question, at the Vienna meeting the question of naval forces is not being discussed. The question of naval forces will be discussed at what we call Stockholm II, that is to say, the second conference on confidence-building measures. But we have proposed today to convene an international conference on problems relating to a reduction in naval forces. At least we believe there should be a special session of the Security Council of the United Nations to discuss this question.

Question: Give us an evaluation of your visit. Everyone is hopeful for a treaty to be signed in Moscow. But tell us, on a scale of 1 to 10 where are we today? Secondly, how far does the discussion of strategic defensive weapons issues influence the discussion on SDI?

Answer: I cannot guarantee that a treaty will be signed in Moscow. There is a possibility, given the requisite willingness on the part of the Soviet Union and the United States. Particularly given enough political will, such a treaty can be prepared. As for SDI, I think you must know, that there is an incompatibility between SDI and the ABM Treaty in the form it was signed in 1972. We insist that the ABM Treaty should be preserved, and hence our attitude toward SDI.

Question: Aren't you satisfied with the U.S. interpretation of the ABM Treaty?

Answer: It is no accident that we are stressing that the treaty should be observed as signed in 1972. This is the best interpretation.

Question: The question is about President Reagan's visit, whether he will be in Moscow or he would go to some other cities or city of the Soviet Union?

Answer: As you know, Muscovites are very hospitable people. We have suggested various options for the President, but as I understand it his choices are limited, but there is still time to go before the visit, and things might change. But I think both of us are sure the President will be worthily received in any corner of the Soviet Union.

Question: You said there is still linkage between SDI and the ABM Treaty. Is there still linkage between the resolution of the ABM problem and the START treaty?

Answer: Of course there is. There will be no treaty on the 50 percent reduction in strategic offensive arms if there is no observance of the ABM Treaty, at least for an agreed period of time. This is the condition as agreed at the highest level, there is nothing new here.

Question: Is there any progress on the nonwithdrawal period, from the ABM Treaty, the differences between the two sides on that?

Answer: The difference here is not very big. I feel that there can be agreement on the period of nonwithdrawal.

Question: I would like to ask you about Afghanistan. As we understand it, a new issue was raised at the last minute—the question of the border between Afghanistan and Pakistan. THE NEW YORK TIMES cited some unspecified Soviet diplomat as being very displeased with this development. Did this come up in your talks?

Answer: No, this question was not discussed at our negotiations. This is to be discussed at the Afghan-Pakistan talks.

Question: One more question on Afghanistan. With no agreement on symmetry on weapons shipments, with no U.S. guarantee for the Geneva talks, will the Soviet Union continue its plans on withdrawal, and if so, when will you begin?

Answer: The Afghan question can be resolved without U.S. guarantees.

Question: The administration has said that that is not a practical solution because if Pakistan signs the Geneva accords, the United States would, in effect, be cut off from supplying the mujahidin while the Soviet Union could continue to supply its ally, the Afghan Government. Can you say whether you rule out the possibility of reaching an understanding that would provide the symmetry being sought by the United States, in other words, a joint cutoff of U.S. supplies to the mujahidin at the same time the Soviet Union ceases to supply the Afghan Government?

Answer: I rule this out. The Soviet Union has its obligations to the Afghan Government and that obligations are based on the status in a treaty—a treaty signed by the Soviet and Afghan Governments. Those are legitimate supplies, and we are not going to review that treaty. We have had this kind of relationship—such agreements with Afghanistan since 1921.

Shultz on Talks With Shevardnadze, TU Ties

PM221002 Moscow TRUD in Russian 19 Mar 88 p 3

[Reports by TASS and own correspondent V. Sisnev, plus editorial comment: "Interview With U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz"]

[Text] (TASS report) Washington, 18 Mar—On the eve of the forthcoming talks here with USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze, U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz gave an interview to representatives of the press from socialist countries accredited to the American capital.

Shultz announced that a whole series of important questions of mutual interest will be discussed in the course of the talks. He expressed the hope that by the planned new Soviet-American summit meeting, the timing of which the sides will seek to agree on during the Soviet minister's stay in Washington, the U.S. Senate will, despite the struggle that still lies ahead, approve the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

Asked whether the U.S. and NATO plans to modernize nuclear arms systems by way of "compensation" for the missiles eliminated under the treaty are contrary to the spirit of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, Shultz claimed that there is nothing reprehensible in the Western allies' actions, "since the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact countries also seek to maintain their arms at an up-to-date level." These words from Shultz reflected the dual position of NATO, which, on the one hand, supports the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, but on the other displays a clear reluctance to move with the Soviet Union toward the total elimination of nuclear arms in Europe.

Answering questions about the prospects for the conclusion of a Soviet-U.S. treaty on the reduction of strategic offensive arms, Shultz said that "the attainment of such a treaty by the time of the Moscow summit would be very desirable." "Both sides," he noted, "agree that very many problems exist and that it is very difficult to find a solution to them." Nonetheless, he said, "the possibility of concluding a treaty exists, and both sides seek to make it a probability, and then a reality."

The secretary of state cited as among the most complex problems in the course of talks on a strategic offensive arms agreement the quest for a solution to the "space defense" problem and the problem of the ABM Treaty, on which "nothing has yet been drafted and which belong more to the sphere of 'concepts.'" It must be noted that the drafting of such decisions is thwarted by the program being implemented by the United States for creating an ABM system with space-based components. The implementation of the "Strategic Defense Initiative" would carry the arms race into space, jeopardize the ABM Treaty, and thereby wreck the opportunity for a radical reduction in strategic offensive arms.

The secretary of state was asked to report on the U.S. reaction to the proposal put forward by M.S. Gorbachev in the course of his visit to the SFRY aimed at lessening tension in one of the most explosive regions of the world—the Mediterranean, which proposes, in particular, that from 1 July of this year the number of ships and the potential of the naval forces of the USSR and the United States located there be frozen, and that limits then be set. Shultz avoided answering the question, stating that "it is better to roll up our sleeves and tackle the practicable matters that we are already working on."

In the course of the interview questions of the settlement of regional conflicts were touched on. The secretary of state was asked: How do you explain the fact that Washington is lagging behind the understanding reached at the Washington summit concerning the conditions for ending American military aid to opposition formations in Afghanistan?

Shultz denied that the United States is departing from the Soviet-American understanding. He spoke of "symmetry and equality as one of the key principles," and stated that the potential guarantors of an agreement on a settlement in Afghanistan—that is, the USSR and the United States—"have reached a consensus on noninterference in Afghanistan's affairs." "Arms deliveries in a conflict situation," the secretary of state said, "would be interference, and perhaps the Soviet Union things so too. In that case we could resolve this problem. In general, it is hard to say."

But it is not at all hard to understand that the continuation of American military aid to antigovernment formations in Afghanistan would help not to settle the conflict, but to drag it out.

[Own correspondent V. Sisnev report] All nine of the invited journalists had the opportunity to ask G. Shultz questions on subjects of interest to them. When it was the turn of TRUD's correspondent, a dialogue took place which is reproduced below word for word from a tape which was later checked against the official transcript.

TRUD correspondent: Mr Secretary of State. I represent the central Soviet trade union newspaper and I thank you for this opportunity to obtain at first hand an explanation on a question which I find mystifying. In talks with the Soviet foreign minister, you ultimately talk about the desirability of better relations and closer ties. Moreover both you and President Reagan have repeatedly stressed the desirability of broader contacts between our two countries' people. But it is your department that, time after time or altogether, refuses visas to representatives of Soviet trade unions or issues them on condition that our trade union workers are not to enter into any contacts with their American colleagues. Where is the logic in that?

G. Shultz: The problem is this. What you call trade unions and what we call trade unions are different things.

TRUD correspondent: That is not important. You cannot decide for us what our trade unions should be.

G. Shultz: You can compare apples with apples, not apples with pears. So that is where the root of the problem is, in part. But of course, some Soviet trade union figures have come to our country. All the same, our trade union movement has different views on what is the basis of trade unions and what their activity should be. That is the reason for our attitude. Our trade unions

have stated that they would like to receive the people they themselves choose. On these conditions they could also receive those whom you choose. A fundamental disagreement exists about the nature of the trade union movement, and that is one manifestation of it.

TRUD correspondent: Only yesterday I interviewed William Winpisinger, chairman of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers. He told me—for publication, incidentally—that he is offended by your attitude to the question of his right to invite guests from Soviet trade unions and that he has written to you to that effect.

G. Shultz: He is offended by my attitude to this?

TRUD correspondent: Not yours personally, of course, but that of the State Department, which has several times prevented visits by representatives of Soviet trade unions invited by that trade union. In March of last year, for instance.

G. Shultz: Well, he should discuss that with the leadership of his federation, with Lane Kirkland. There is a difference of opinion, but I think our viewpoint is correct.

TRUD correspondent: Does that mean that the AFL-CIO is to blame, and not the State Department?

G. Shultz: No, we agree with the AFL-CIO. Our country consists of a large number of different groups, and we have a deep respect for our free trade unions. When questions connected with the trade union movement arise, we attach great significance to the trade unions' opinion. [Sisnev report ends]

Comment from the editorial office: The U.S. secretary of state did not succeed in dispelling our perplexity. He claims that his department "attaches great significance to the (American) trade unions' opinion." But invitations received by Soviet trade union representatives to meet with their colleagues in the United States also represent the American trade unions' opinion. Yet since 1981 on, around 20 occasions the State Department has disregarded those opinions and refused visas to representatives of Soviet working people and trade unions. Perhaps this only happened because in each such case L. Kirkland's personal approval was not given? As a result the impression formed is this: The department headed by the secretary of state does not, by all appearances, intend to renounce its discriminatory policy with regard to both Soviet and American trade unions.

White House Spokesman on Upcoming Summit
LD250544 Moscow TASS in English 0538 GMT
25 Mar 88

[Text] Washington March 25 TASS—The White House has expressed confidence that the upcoming meeting in Moscow between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary

of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan will be "quite productive" and help resolve a number of important issues.

This confidence is based on the talks held in Washington by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, White House Spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said.

One of the main results of the talks, he said, was that the sides had no more doubts concerning each other's stands. "We made enough progress to keep going," Fitzwater said.

He said that success of ministerial meetings was in understanding and clarifying the positions of the sides on some issues. He said the United States and the Soviet Union had achieved much progress in this respect with regard to Afghanistan and an agreement on strategic offensive armaments.

Baker on Senate INF Ratification Hope
PM211649 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 17 Mar 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "In Support of the Treaty"]

[Text] Washington, 16 Mar—White House Chief of Staff H. Baker has expressed confidence that the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles signed at the Washington summit meeting will be approved by the U.S. Senate.

"The debate now is certainly not over whether this treaty will be ratified," he told representatives of the "Prime Ministers Club" organization in Washington Tuesday, "but over whether attempts will be made to attach amendments and provisos to it which would require new talks on the agreement." "I hope and believe that the Senate will not do that," the White House chief of staff declared.

H. Baker emphasized that the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, which "for the first time will remove an entire class of nuclear arms from the face of the earth," is "a real landmark" for the whole world and "could mark the start of mankind's efforts aimed at considerably reducing the threat of nuclear war."

This week the Senate Foreign Relations Committee plans to complete its hearings on the subject.

'Pauses' in INF Ratification Process Deplored
PM241315 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 12, 20 Mar 88 p 5

[Melor Sturua article: "INF Treaty Update. How Goes the U.S. Ratification?"]

[Text] Reporting on how ratification of the INF Treaty is proceeding in the U.S. Senate, I nearly wrote that it is the centre of attention—for the U.S. public and, naturally, Congress.

Unfortunately, that isn't the case. Americans are currently immersed in the presidential primaries, while the administration and Congress are caught up with the regional conflicts in Afghanistan and Nicaragua, the Middle East tour of Secretary of State George Shultz and the situation in Panama. Isn't this because of the firm conviction that Senate ratification of the INF Treaty is a "foregone conclusion"? Preliminary polls show that a qualified majority—two-thirds—needed for ratification is already available, that obvious opponents of the treaty number about 10 or 12.

Do these optimistic numbers add up to a positive political outlook? Not at all. Let's start with the time factor. Dragging out the ratification process means dragging out the process of disarmament, which creates an unfavourable atmosphere at the strategic offensive arms talks. A long, drawn-out process also increases the risk of situations which could frustrate ratification (recall what happened to the SALT-II treaty).

Recently American warships "strayed" into Soviet territorial waters in the Black Sea. As retired Rear-Admiral Eugene Carroll, deputy director of the Defense Information Center, rightly wrote in THE WASHINGTON POST, in case of a mutually destructive clash or a nuclear disaster, "the INF Treaty, now in a difficult voyage through troubled waters in the U.S. Senate, might very well have been the first casualty". There are more than enough "troubled waters" in current international life.

The time factor is being aggravated by the so-called hostage factor. The senators, blackmailing the administration, are forcing concessions for the "interest groups" they represent on Capitol Hill. As usual, these concessions are not conducive to the lessening of international tensions. On February 29, the Senate approved a resolution demanding that the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan be "acceptable" to the armed opposition in Kabul and that the USA not stop its aid to the opposition unless the Soviet Union stops "all forms" of aid to the present Afghan Government. Since this resolution is not binding, Senate Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd (Dem.) threatened to make ratification of the INF Treaty a hostage to the continuation of military aid. Byrd said that the Senate in full complement would not start debates on the treaty unless the administration assured it that aid would not be stopped "prematurely" and unless it knew the terms of the Geneva agreements. Unfortunately, this kind of "hostage-taking" sometimes suits the administration and, in some cases, is even encouraged.

Aside from being dangerous in and of itself, "hostage-taking" may also poison the international atmosphere and create objective difficulties in ratifying the treaty. Added to this are the malicious concoctions spread by the treaty's opponents—that the Soviet Union has allegedly "kept back" more than 150 SS-20 missiles or that the USSR has deployed medium-range missiles in Cuba!

"Good intentions" have also produced some obstacles. Democratic leaders, headed by Senators Byrd and Sam Nunn, demanded assurances from the administration that it would on no account depart from the treaty's provisions in the form of which they are submitted to the Senate, that is, would not resort to its "broad" interpretation as happened with the ABM Treaty. Shultz assured the Senate of this in writing and sent along 31 volumes of documents relating to negotiating that led to the treaty's conclusion. Nunn said he didn't know how long it would take the Committee on Armed Services, which he heads, to complete its work. In the meantime, the Committee sent a list of 135 questions concerning possible interpretations of the treaty.

Finally, NATO's "compensation" tendencies must be assessed as a negative factor. Their meaning is to restore, under the pretext of "modernization", the nuclear potential eliminated under the INF Treaty. A return to the "position-of-strength" policy also corresponds rather dubiously with the intensive treaty ratification process.

Ratification hearings have now resumed in the Senate Committees on Foreign Relations and Armed Services. They are open to the public. In addition, closed hearings are being held in the special Intelligence Committee. According to statements by the three committees chairmen, the treaty will be recommended to the Senate for ratification. Despite the numerous obstacles, there is hope that the treaty will be ratified after all. Ratification is supported by the overwhelming majority of American public, and President Reagan is seeking it owing to objective and subjective considerations. The question is when will this "after all" come. The pauses, especially protracted ones, do not benefit the nuclear disarmament process. Mankind, it should be remembered, is living on borrowed time.

Kornilov Criticizes U.S. Human Rights Remarks
LD241654 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1110 GMT 24 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, 24 Mar (TASS)—TASS political observer Yuriy Kornilov writes:

The more thoroughly the public analyzes the results of the 44th UN commission session on human rights, which has ended in Geneva, the more obvious it becomes how serious the violations of such rights in a number of Western countries, primarily the United States, are. Much of the mass media is expressing concern over the policy and practices that have found root in the United States of racial discrimination, inequality, suppression of civil and political freedoms, and the use of the police repression apparatus for the persecution of supporters of equal rights and participants in the antiwar struggle. Sharp criticism is being made of the postulate being whipped up by Washington that, as they say, the chief thing is political rights, while socioeconomic rights are something of third-rate significance, not requiring guarantees.

This "thesis," if one may call it one, is intended to justify such facts that in a "free" and "democratic" America thousands and thousands of people are deprived of the right to work; the numbers of homeless has reached almost 3 million; more than 75 percent of the country's indigenous population, Indians, go hungry; while the incomes of "black" Americans on average come to little more than 50 percent of the incomes of whites....

It is also quite symptomatic that the United States ratified only 6 out of 22 of the most important international documents on human rights. It is precisely Washington that is behind a number of militaristic, dictatorial regimes which, in essence, are waging war against their own people, as is the case in Chile or South Africa. It is precisely Washington that is to be found behind the Israeli aggressors, pursuing a policy of terror and genocide on the Arab territories they occupy. Incidentally, let me recall that the U.S. delegation was the only one that voted against a resolution condemning Israel during the UN Human Rights Commission session....

Such are the facts, indubitable and controvertible. However, the stronger the concern the international public shows in connection with these facts, the more often Washington's unwritten "rule" comes into play: If things are none too good at home, try and put the blame and responsibility on others. And, lo and behold, a voluminous work, entitled "Report on the Practice and Observance of Human Rights in Various Countries in 1987," a document in which the authors quite groundlessly attempt to teach all and sundry about the "foundations of democracy," is being compiled within the State Department. Thus, in Vienna, where the latest round of the meeting of CSCE representatives is coming to a close, W. Zimmermann, the head of the U.S. delegation, rehashing the postulates from the State Department's "report," attacks the USSR and other socialist states, charging them with allegedly impeding progress in solving problems on human rights....

There is no need to refute these hollow accusations: The whole world knows and sees how the restructuring, underway in the USSR, deals one blow after another to the stereotypes of "secrecy" and "undemocratic nature" of Soviet society concocted in the propaganda kitchens of the West. However, Washington's unceasing attempts to give others "lessons in democracy," its lack of tolerance toward any views and assessments of human rights problems that are different to those in the United States naturally give rise to the question: What are those in Washington, who with an assiduity deserving of a better application and attempting to make use of these problems to fan enmity and enhance confrontation, trying to achieve?

The Washington "peace fighters," who try to ascribe their own sins to others, would do well to start with themselves. At the same time, they should proceed from

the fact that, when discussing human rights in international forums, it is time to abandon the so-called "denouncing" manner of dialogue in which they accuse and try to teach others. The public expects from Washington not a repetition of the antisocialist dogma and fabrications that set teeth on edge and have long been rejected, but a readiness for business-like debate and constructive cooperation. The public expects the sort of discussion and cooperation that would enable a contribution to be made to improving the lives of people everywhere, and not least in the United States.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Reportage on Rogachev Visit to Philippines

'Friendly' Talks With Aquino

LD241859 Moscow TASS in English 1835 GMT
24 Mar 88

[Text] Manila March 24 TASS—President Corazon Aquino of the Philippines has received today Igor Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister, who is currently staying here for bilateral political consultations. In the course of the meeting Corazon Aquino expressed satisfaction with the outcome of the Soviet-Philippine talks in Manila, pointed out the usefulness of a joint examination of the international developments, in particular in the Asia-Pacific region as well as questions pertaining to bilateral relations. The sides were unanimous that the forthcoming official visit to the USSR of the president of the Republic of the Philippines will give an important impetus to a further development of a political dialogue, interaction and cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Philippines in various fields. It has been agreed that the time of the visit will be specified through diplomatic channels.

Corazon Aquino was briefed on the present state of Soviet-American relations, on prospects for reaching by them an agreement on a reduction of strategic offensive weapons in the light of the talks which ended in Washington between Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR foreign minister, and President Ronald Reagan and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz. In an exchange of views on the situation in Asia and the Pacific Basin, the president of the Philippines was told that the Soviet Union will carry on a consistent struggle for reducing the level of military confrontation, building up confidence and developing cooperation in the region on the basis of the programme put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev in Vladivostok. The USSR supports the efforts of the countries of that area which are aimed at creating peace and nuclear free zones.

Taking part in the meeting, which proceeded in a warm friendly atmosphere, was USSR ambassador to the Philippines O. Sokolov.

Urges Spratley Island Settlement

HK250605 Hong Kong AFP in English 0554 GMT
22 Mar 88

[Text] Manila, March 25 (AFP)—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev called Friday for prompt talks between China and Vietnam to settle their dispute over the Spratly Islands which flared into a clash this month.

He issued the call at a news conference one day after China rejected a Vietnamese offer of talks after a clash between their forces March 14 in the strategically-situated archipelago in the South China Sea.

"Negotiations between the parties concerned should be started as soon as possible. These problems cannot be solved by using force, and in this sense we support our Vietnamese friends," said Mr. Rogachev, who was on the fourth day of a visit here.

The Soviet Union is Vietnam's top ally and has the use of naval and air facilities in Vietnam.

(In Hanoi Friday newspapers said 74 Vietnamese servicemen were missing after the clash and Vietnamese sources said that about half of them could be dead.)

The islands are also claimed by the Philippines, Malaysia and Taiwan. Manila, which occupies eight of the Spratlys, has also called on China and Vietnam to settle their dispute peacefully and warned both to stay off the portion of the archipelago claimed by Manila.

Near East & South Asia

Afghan-Pakistan Peace Talks Continue in Geneva

Work on 'Final Drafts'

LD251246 Moscow TASS in English 1240 GMT
25 Mar 88

[Text] Geneva March 25 TASS—The Afghan-Pakistani talks through Diego Cordovez, a personal representative of the U.N. secretary general, are going on at the Geneva Palais de Nations.

Quarters close to the negotiations point out that Diego Cordovez continues active efforts to make final drafts of four basic documents of a future agreement.

However, the non-constructive position of the Pakistani side prevents the talks from ending successfully. It insists, as before, on a solution (within these negotiations) of issues pertaining to establishment of the so-called interim government and to linking an end to the U.S. military aid to armed opposition groups with discontinuation of traditional Soviet assistance to the Afghan Republic. These questions are known to have been not on the agenda of the talks.

Talks Resume 'Next Week'

LD251345 Moscow TASS in English 1318 GMT
25 Mar 88

[Text] Geneva March 25 TASS—Diego Cordovez, personal representative of the U.N. Secretary general, told journalists here today that the Afghan-Pakistani talks would be continued next week. He made the statement right after today's meeting with the heads of the Afghan and Pakistani delegations.

Najibullah Remarks Cited

PM251031 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian
20 Mar 88 p 3

[Report by G. Musayelyan: "Peace on Your House"]

[Excerpt] Kabul-Moscow—[Passage omitted] The constructive proposals contained in the statements of M.S. Gorbachev and Afghan President Najibullah are aimed precisely at ending the fratricidal war and achieving national reconciliation on Afghan soil. They were a vivid example of the new political thinking and displayed readiness for a genuine settlement in this "hot spot" on the planet.

As is known, to promote the successful conclusion of the Afghan-Pakistani talks being held in Geneva, the Soviet and Afghan Governments announced a specific date for the start of the Soviet troop withdrawal—15 May. The duration of this operation was laid down—10 months (it was later reduced to 9 months—G.M.). The date itself was defined by proceeding from the premise that agreements on a political settlement would be concluded no later than 15 March and come into force simultaneously 2 months after being signed. At the same time, the sides agreed that half the Soviet troops would return home during the first 3 months. There seemed to be no more obstacles to the Afghan people greeting this year's Now Ruz [Afghan New Year, celebrated 21 March] in a new atmosphere, in expectation of the real peace which the signing of agreements could bring to Afghan soil. However, as reports from Geneva testify, the Pakistani and U.S. sides have embarked on a path of procrastination, delaying a solution to the Afghan problem. And yet the new initiatives advanced by the USSR and the Republic of Afghanistan gave the "go-ahead" for its solution. Najibullah drew attention to this in talks with the author on these lines.

"An important and convincing step has been taken, aimed at accelerating the resolution of the Afghan problem in every possible way," he said. "The constructive new initiatives advanced simultaneously by Moscow and Kabul introduce full political clarity into the settlement of the situation in our country. The situation in and around Afghanistan has never been as open to resolution as it is now."

Najibullah evaluated highly the position of the Soviet Union, which back in 1919 was the first to recognize Afghanistan's independence and establish diplomatic relations with it and, later—in 1921—helped to strengthen Afghanistan's economy and defense capability by concluding a friendship treaty.

The president emphasized that the results of the Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva will be a test of the true intentions of those statesmen in the West and in the region who declare their desire for peace in Afghanistan. Delaying the signing of the Geneva accords under various farfetched pretexts, the United States and Pakistan have embarked on a path of creating various artificial obstacles. [passage omitted]

Border Issue Assailed

*LD241503 Moscow TASS in English 1432 GMT
24 Mar 88*

[Text] Kabul March 24 TASS—Afghanistan holds a constructive and flexible position at the Afghan-Pakistani negotiations in Geneva. The Afghan side has confirmed this stance also on a central issue which Pakistan considered as the all-important one—the time-table for the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops within nine months, says a report by BAKHTAR news agency.

Regrettably, the Pakistani delegation creates all manner of artificial impediments to signing final agreements. In its bid to delay the process of negotiations Pakistan undermines even the traditions that existed in relations between the two states for centuries. It makes attempts, in part, to impose for discussion the issue of the border between the two countries and this affects, first and foremost, the interests of Pashtuns.

In making attempts to divide the single Pashtun people, Pakistan should remember that Pashtuns will be united as ever. They have one history, one destiny and one future. The Government of the Republic of Afghanistan exerts every effort to preserve the traditional ties on the borders, mutual solidarity and the union of the border tribes. And nobody can break this union.

The Government of the Republic of Afghanistan strongly condemns the intention to discuss at the negotiations in Geneva the border question and regards Pakistan's stance as one more attempt by Islamabad to land the talks into an impasse, the report emphasizes.

A rally in support of the initiatives of the Afghan and Soviet Governments aimed at settling the situation around Afghanistan was held in the Afghan capital today. It involved authoritative representatives of Pashtun tribes residing both in Afghanistan and in the zone of free tribes in Pakistani territory.

Ajmal Khattak, a well-known public figure and poet, addressing the rally, stressed that Pakistan's stance at the Geneva negotiations was in conflict with the interests of peace and stability in the region.

Speakers at the rally noted that Islamabad intended to make the success of the Geneva negotiations dependent on the demand which, if met, would divide the Pashtun people into two parts for ever. The Pashtun people will never agree to this.

Border Tribes Rally in Kabul

*LD241830 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1530 GMT 24 Mar 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report by correspondent M. Leshchinskiy]

[Text] A meeting of border tribe representatives took place in Kabul's Pashtunistan Square today. The coat of arms of Pashtunistan sits in the center of the square. It shows snowy peaks lit by a bright sun. Such are the peace symbols of this land on which the Afridi, Mohmand, Shinwari, and Baluchi peoples have lived from time immemorial. It is precisely in the zone of settlement of these tribes in the west of Pakistan that the main bulk of the military camps of the armed Afghan opposition, its arsenals, training bases, and the headquarters of its political parties, are concentrated. The Pakistan regime supports them in punitive actions against the free tribes and assists the expansion on age-old Pashtun lands of staging areas for aggression against Afghanistan. It permits the transportation of weapons to the neighboring country, which all Pashtuns look upon as their common home. On its threshold they often become the first victims of the continuing war.

On behalf of all his fellow tribesmen, the well-known leader of the Pashtun National Movement Ajmal Khattak sharply condemned the position of the Pakistani side, which is hampering progress in the Geneva talks. Not a single self-respecting tribe will permit a government, a state system to be imposed on it from outside. This question must be resolved and is being resolved by the Afghans themselves. Pakistan further demands the cessation of Soviet military aid to Afghanistan, he continued, but in that case let U.S. military aid to Islamabad also stop. We are personally experiencing its size and strength. The Pakistani army shells the Pashtuns' villages with U.S. missiles. U.S. guns and tanks destroy our crops and the walls of our dwellings.

Representatives of all free border troops, who had come to Pashtunistan Square in Kabul, demanded the earliest possible completion of the Geneva talks and vigorous actions to achieve a political settlement of the region's problems.

Keshtmand Discusses Current Afghan Economy
LD241109 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1330 GMT 23 Mar 88

[Text] Afghanistan has seen in the new year. The 1,360th year passed into the country's history as the year of practical implementation of the course of national reconciliation. But what did it bring in terms of social and economic development and the living standards of Afghan people? Aleksandr Shkirando, our correspondent in Kabul, asked Sultan Ali Keshtmand, prime minister of the Republic of Afghanistan:

[Begin Keshtmand recording in vernacular with superimposed Russian translation] In the year that has passed, despite the complex conditions of the undeclared war, the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan strove to actively resolve tasks connected with ensuring the fulfillment of established plans for economic and social development, the state budget, and ensuring a rise in the living standards of the Afghan people. Special attention was paid to wheat purchases. As a result more than 170,000 tonnes were brought for the domestic market. Such a purchase level was achieved for the first time in the entire history of our country. We saw an increase in our industrial production output, so important for the national economy, of coal, cement, bricks, and crushed stone. Production of electricity and of many types of goods from the light and food industries grew. A significant program of capital construction was fulfilled. In the past, large measures were implemented to increase the living standards of the Afghan people. Thus, for example, the pay of servicemen, the armed forces, and all ranks of troops was increased. State subsidies for feeding state industrial, office, and professional workers increased one and a half times. The free issue of coupons for grain, flour, and fats was introduced for state industrial, office, and professional workers, and for invalids of the revolution and of labor, and pensioners.

Taken as a whole, to appraise these measures, they raised the living standards of about 4 million of our citizens. This is one of our largest achievements and was all carried out in the course of 1 year. I must note that these and other successes became possible thanks to the fraternal assistance of our northerly neighbor, the Soviet Union. [end recording]

U.S. 'Urges' Israeli Military Strikes on Arabs
LD241934 Moscow TASS in English 1750 GMT
24 Mar 88

["Connivance at the Aggressor—Commentary"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow March 24 TASS—TASS commentator Grigoriy Asilyev writes:

Israeli aircraft rocketed and bombed the (?outskirts) of the south Lebanese town of Sidon on Wednesday, causing casualties among civilians, destroying the municipal power station, and leaving a number of southern areas of the country (?without electricity).

Noteworthy is the fact that the new air raid against the sovereign Arab country was made immediately following the return of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir from Washington where he had held weeklong talks with U.S. President Ronald Reagan and Secretary of State George Shultz.

Upon returning, the prime minister praised the atmosphere of "friendship and mutual understanding" during the discussions between the partners for the strategic (?anti)-Arab alliance.

This year's third air bombardment of the south of Lebanon virtually became the first result of the "mutual understanding", and showed again that the United States, which holds fully pro-Israeli positions, actually connives at the aggressor and urges it on to new criminal actions against (?Arab) neighbours.

Tel Aviv persists in the occupation of the "security zone" which it has set up in defiance of the U.N. Security Council's resolutions which call for unconditional withdrawal (?of Israeli) troops from Lebanon. Upon having changed the international border, Israel has already annexed part of Lebanese territory and is obviously insatiable in its expansionist ambitions. The Israeli military brazenly assumed a certain right unceremoniously to interfere in the internal affairs of Lebanon and in every way destabilize the situation in that country which is being torn asunder by the civil war.

The Lebanese patriots have not been subdued by the repressive actions of the Israelis, and are unwilling to put up with the Israeli occupation of the country's south. Reports about new strikes which they deliver against the invaders and their followers from among the so-called "South Lebanon Army" (SLA) come in every day. The struggle of the Lebanese against the Israeli occupation, and for the independence and sovereignty of their country enjoys the support of Arab and international (?circles) at large and is an integral part of the Arabs' struggle against Zionism's and imperialism's intrigues in the Middle East.

Statement by New PLO Representative to USSR
LD241959 Moscow International Service in Arabic
1530 GMT 24 Mar 88

[Text] (Nabil 'Umar), the new PLO representative in the Soviet Union, has begun his diplomatic mission in Moscow. Comrade (Nabil 'Umar) received our reporter and made a statement, which we present to you now:

[Begin ('Umar) recording] I feel happy to represent the Palestinian people, the Palestinian revolution, the PLO and its chairman, Brother Yasir 'Arafat, to the friendly Soviet Union, its peoples and its leadership, headed by Comrade President Gorbachev [title as heard].

Without doubt the PLO always seeks to continue dialogue, coordination, and consultations with the Soviet leadership in all affairs of mutual interest, and naturally with particular regard to the situation in the Middle East and the Palestinian question. In this context, I and my colleagues at the PLO mission in Moscow hope to make a positive contribution at this level, taking into consideration the fact that the PLO and the Palestinian people are deeply aware of the importance of the Soviet Union as a great power that takes part in the making of major world decisions.

The Soviet Union offers its principled and sincere support for the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, for the Palestinian revolution, and for the PLO as the sole legitimate representative. This gives the difficult struggle waged by the Palestinian people great possibilities for continuing, escalating, and advancing.

As you know, Soviet comrades, I come to Moscow to take up my job as PLO representative at a time of a new political stage, if one may call it so, in the Middle East, or concerning the Middle East. What is new is the deep reactions caused by the continuous and escalating uprising of our people in the occupied homeland, the uprising that has significantly resubmitted the Palestinian question in a more serious way than ever before. It has even forced the United States—which regrettably had been refusing to look positively into any matter concerning the Palestinian people—to move quickly, in our view, in an attempt to contain this uprising, to prevent it from escalating and further affecting the Zionist-Israeli, and even the U.S. situation in the region.

Undoubtedly in the PLO we now represent the national consensus of the Palestinian people, whether at the level of national political forces or that of popular forces. We in the PLO agree with the Soviet comrades on the correct line leading to a lasting, genuine, and just peace in the Middle East, a peace based on the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination and setting up an independent state, through the formula of an effective and substantive international conference, as some are trying to propose or work for, an effective international conference with the participation of the UN Security Council permanent members, in addition to the interested parties in the conflict, including, naturally, the PLO.

We agree also that the time has come for those who have tried to impose Camp David-type solutions, those who have imagined that they could impose a fait accompli on the Palestinian people and the world, the time has come for them to abandon this belief which, with the new

situation caused by the uprising, has become just obsolete illusions that have no place for effectively dealing with the Middle East question.

I carry the greetings of my people, of those who are staging the uprising with stones in the occupied territories and facing the Israeli repression with all bravery, I carry the greetings of my leadership, headed by Brother Yasir 'Arafat, to every Soviet citizen, to every official in the Soviet Union, to the party and the government, to President Gorbachev, for whom we Palestinians and Arabs harbor all respect, appreciation, and admiration, in consideration for the political steps aimed at exercising Soviet influence on regional and even on international issues.

We are looking forward with all optimism to the future of Palestinian-Soviet relations, proceeding from the fact that they are firm and principled relations. We never forget the Soviet support for the unity of the PLO. We do not forget the Soviet support at the international level for the national and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. We do not forget that in all difficult times we find in the Soviet Union a real and sincere friend that cannot bargain on the principled positions it holds toward the Palestinian people and their just cause.

Thank you. [end recording]

Sub-Saharan Africa

Petrovskiy Concludes Talks in Zimbabwe

'Complete Identity of Views'

LD242246 Moscow TASS in English 2145 GMT
24 Mar 88

[Text] Harare March 24 TASS—Vladimir Petrovskiy, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, completed his visit to Zimbabwe today.

He delivered an oral message from Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to Robert Mugabe, the president of the country, chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement and also held political consultations with representatives of the Zimbabwean leadership on issues concerning international security, disarmament, and a peaceful settlement of (?crisis situations) and regional conflicts.

During detailed talks with Nathan Shamuyarira, Zimbabwean minister of foreign affairs, and leading officials of the Ministry, Vladimir Petrovskiy explained the Soviet Union's stand on matters aimed at establishing a comprehensive system of peace and international security.

An important role which the UN and other international organisations are called upon to play in this process was specially pointed out.

It was emphasized, in particular, that the Soviet Union regarded the Non-Aligned Movement as a powerful factor in the generation of the principles of equality and universal security and in their constructive assertion in the world arena. The talks revealed complete identity of views of the two sides on the main issues discussed.

The deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR also spoke at the University of Zimbabwe and gave a press conference for local and foreign journalists. He informed those present in detail of the Soviet peaceful foreign policy at the present stage.

It was emphasized that restructuring and new thinking in international relations were essential in the discussion of global issues and the solution of regional conflicts.

U.S. Mediation Not Opposed

*LD242159 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2006 GMT
24 Mar 88*

[Text] [No place name as received] March 24 (TANJUG)—The Soviet Union believes it is high time to solve the problems of Africa's south, which is unimaginable without the removal of apartheid, a ranking Soviet official stated here today. The Soviet Union does not oppose the mediatory role of the U.S. in the region, he said.

Deputy Soviet Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy told a news conference in Harare that the Soviet Union fully supports the front-line countries and liberation movements which believe that the most urgent and vital task is the elimination of apartheid in South Africa.

Vladimir Petrovskiy presented Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe with a personal message from Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. During his stay in Harare, Petrovskiy had political consultations with Foreign Ministry officials.

East Europe

More on Transfer of Soviet Forces' Missile Base

*LD241512 Moscow TASS in English 1135 GMT
24 Mar 88*

[Text] Waren March 24 TASS—By TASS correspondent M. Voronenkov: A former missile base of Soviet forces in the German Democratic Republic, from which Soviet shorter-range systems were removed recently, will be turned on July 1 into a new rest home run by trade unions, it was announced at a rally in the city of Waren.

Harry Tisch, a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SUPG) and chairman of the Central Board of the Association of Free German Trade Unions, there was handed the government's certificate to this effect.

The certificate was passed on to him by General of the Army Heinz Kessler, a member of the Political Bureau of the SUPG Central Committee and national defense minister of the GDR.

Speaking on behalf of the 9.5 million trade union members in this country, Tisch expressed gratitude to the party's Central Committee and the government for this gesture revealing concern for working people's leisure.

Waren Mayor Konrad Schwarz told TASS the former missile base is situated in an area near Lake Mueritz which has traditionally been popular with holiday-makers. There already are several rest homes there, which can cater for more than 80,000 vacationers at one time.

PZPR's Siwicki Visits Soviet Northern Forces

*PM161307 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
11 Mar 88 Second Edition p 3*

[Lieutenant Colonel V. Bunin report: "Strengthening Friendship"]

[Text] Army General F. Siwicki, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and Polish national defense minister, visited the servicemen of the Northern Group of Forces. Marshal of the Soviet Union N. Ogarkov and Colonel General V. Utkin accompanied him to the "X" garrison.

A conversation took place during which Lieutenant General I. Korbutov, commander of the Northern Group of Forces, talked about how restructuring is progressing in Soviet units and subunits and how the socialist pledges adopted in honor of the coming 19th All-Union Party Conference are being fulfilled. Army General F. Siwicki in turn told his brothers in arms about the country's position, the economic reform, how the Polish people are implementing the tasks set by the 10th PZPR Conference, and the progress in combat training in units and subunits of the Polish Army. An exchange of opinions took place on the problems of educating the personnel in the revolutionary, labor, and combat traditions of the fraternal armies and peoples and on ways to improve combat cooperation and to strengthen collaboration between the servicemen of the Northern Group of Forces and the servicemen of the Polish Forces.

Hungary's Kadar on Reforms, Party Conference

*PM171635 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Mar 88
Second Edition p 5*

[TASS report: "J. Kadar's Speech"]

[Text] Budapest, 11 Mar—The broad process of public reforms and measures to renew socioeconomic life in the USSR and other socialist countries are a decisive factor in international life. The MSZMP, which is an active

supporter of democratization, renewal, and reform, is part of this process. MSZMP General Secretary J. Kadar stated this at a meeting held here with Hungarian agricultural leaders.

The Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is, he pointed out, helping to preserve world peace and expand international cooperation.

Dwelling on questions of domestic policy development, the Hungarian leader pointed out that three questions are now at the center of political work: analysis of the economy at the beginning of the year, renewal of party activity and improvement of the system of political institutes, and preparation for the national party conference. This forum will examine topical questions of socialist building and will determine tasks intended to successfully fulfill the program for stabilization and for Hungary's socioeconomic development.

Describes Main Tasks

PM240917 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Mar 88
Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Statement by J. Kadar"]

[Text] Budapest, 18 Mar—The process of profound transformations and renewal under way in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries must lead to concrete results in the practice of socialist building and to the improvement of the international climate. MSZMP General Secretary J. Kadar stated this in an interview with Hungarian television, Hungarian radio, and MTI.

He said that the realistic approach to both questions of socialist development and also the resolution of important international problems has become a most important indicator of the changes in the fraternal countries. The results of the Soviet Union's activity in this direction have been broadly reflected in the signing of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. Joint speeches by the USSR and other Warsaw Pact states are based on a real assessment of international politics and the desire to secure mutual security at the lowest level of armaments. The improvement in the international situation and the strengthening of peace on our planet are creating favorable conditions for the Hungarian people's constructive labor.

Referring to questions of domestic policy development, the MSZMP general secretary noted that the Hungarian people have to resolve a whole series of major tasks, which will demand sustained labor and a change in work style and methods. Attention must be devoted to further strengthening the system of political institutions and improving their activity. A struggle-tempered party and a politically mature Hungarian society are the guarantee that the tasks facing the country will be successfully resolved.

J. Kadar stressed that the main tasks for the upcoming national party conference are the consolidation and development of the results which the country has secured in the course of socialist building and progress along this path.

'Revelation' of Bulgarian Elections Described
PM151341 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Mar 88
Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent Leonid Zhmyrev dispatch under the rubric "Viewpoint": "With Open Doors"]

[Text] Sofia—Holding a single watermelon under his arm, a villager offers it to the local kmet (village council chairman):

"Choose which one you want."

"What choice is there when you have only one watermelon?" the chairman says in bewilderment.

"But you were our only candidate for the post of chairman, you know..."

A Bulgarian newspaper portrayed this little scene at the height of the election campaign for the local organs of power. The elections were held 28 February. What did they show? Let us start with the fact that these elections were held in an unusual situation. They were preceded by changes to the electoral law adopted by the National Assembly. For the first time in more than 40 years of electoral practice in socialist Bulgaria the possibility emerged of nominating two or more (no limit on the number) candidates for a single elective post.

But having a formal right and having the possibility of realizing that right are two different things. This was shown by the election campaign. A month before the elections Grigor Stoichkov, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and Bulgarian Council of Ministers deputy chairman, pointed out from the rostrum of the BCP national conference that just 25 percent of electoral regions had used their right to nominate two or more candidates for people's councils.

Why was this? I believe various reasons played a role. The unpreparedness of the population—those who elect and those who are elected—for such an abrupt and in some ways unexpected change had an effect. People evidently still have rather little experience of democracy. For it, too, has its own history, traditions, and level of culture.

And again. The forces of inertia and pressure "from above" have not been overcome. The Bulgarian press has written extensively and openly about this.

On election day I observed the close of the electoral commission's work in Sofia's "Lozenets" commune. At 1800, when voting ended, the doors of the polling station

in the G. Rakovski School were opened to all wishing to be present at the opening of the ballot boxes and the counting of votes "for" and "against" candidates. Old Communists, members of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, figures in the Fatherland Front, and other people—those who had the time and the desire to be present at the new procedure provided for by the changes to the electoral law—positioned themselves on chairs and benches around the members of the electoral commission.

So, for the first time in the entire history of elections in the People's Republic of Bulgaria votes were counted with the doors open, before the eyes of the people's representatives in the informal sense of the phrase. What did the results show?

In the country as a whole 99.15 percent of voters participated in the elections. A high percentage.

Some 89.06 percent voted for deputies for oblast people's councils, and 89.10 percent for commune councils. On the whole, the voters' support appears very impressive and far weightier than in elections in certain Western countries, for example. And yet, you will agree, we in our own socialist countries are now so accustomed to seeing just a set of "nines" in the final electoral documents that these present electoral "eights" are perceived almost as a revelation.

Some 13 deputies of oblast people's councils and the capital's people's council, 157 deputies of commune people's councils, and 132 kmetsvo people's councillors were not elected. Some 31 kmets (village council chairmen) also were not elected.

Failure in an election is a lesson both for those who are not elected and for those who nominate such candidates. Of course, I do not mean candidates who were forced in open competition for votes to concede to another (or a third) but those whose candidacies were imposed "from above" in the spirit of the old approaches. An instructive conclusion for the future.

On the whole, these elections aroused the population's genuine, sincere interest. An important step has been taken on the path of realizing the thesis proclaimed in the BCP Central Committee July (1987) Plenum decisions and enshrined in the documents of this year's national party conference: "From power in the people's name to power for the people themselves!"

Yugoslav Experts Describe Economic Policies
PM181221 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 11, 13 Mar 88 p 7

[Viktor Tsoppi report: "The Yugoslav Model: Its Pluses, Minuses, Prospects..."]

[Text] We journalists are not really enthusiastic yet about giving up a touching view of world socialism. But it is about time we stopped looking at the real picture of socialism's varied models in the present-day world through the frosty glass of partialities and prejudices.

These were the thoughts that preoccupied me when I went to Yugoslavia. I reminisced that my generation's vision of the world had taken shape in those years—difficult for our relations—when Yugoslav Communists, our comrades, our like-minded fellows, our colleagues in the antinazi struggle, and revolutionaries, were described solely as a "clique of hirelings, traitors and spies". But in 1955, even before the 20th CPSU Congress, Nikita Khrushchev went to Yugoslavia, held friendly discussions with Josip Broz Tito and settled mutual relations. Nevertheless, for a fairly long time, we still had a biased attitude towards the socialist road chosen by Yugoslavia.

Time passed. Yugoslavia, which started building socialism by adopting the democratic method of self-management which flatly rejected the schemes of high-handed command, developed at a rapid pace, having reached the most advanced positions in many spheres.

...The crisis in Yugoslavia had been going from bad to worse, attended by mounting unemployment. International antagonisms were becoming ever more painful. There was a growing number of strikes. The hard-currency debt had rocketed. The standard of living had declined... I read about all this before my trip.

My first impression as a man in the street on arrival in Belgrade was that there was everything in the stores. Excellent food in nice packing, fashionable footwear and clothing; high prices, but no queues, agreeable people, hospitable and responsive.

But still, a crisis?

"Recently," I was told by Ciril Ribicic, Member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, whom I met in Ljubljana, "we have encountered considerable difficulties which cannot be dismissed off hand. We must think and analyze. Why, for instance, only a few years ago, was Yugoslavia's standard of living in many respects higher than that in neighbouring Austria or Italy? And why has it become perceptibly lower now?"

"There are several explanations for this phenomenon, and we Yugoslav Communists flatly reject the most widespread version—that the slump and crisis were triggered off by the very system of Yugoslav socialist self-management, which has finally revealed its unprofitable and archaic nature in the conditions of a worldwide and universal revolution in science and technology. We say: no, this is juggling with the facts. Self-management guarantees our development. Because this is a system of the working people's organized, conscious and concerned participation in the production of material values and in running society. We must achieve a harmonious and productive combination of self-management—the foundation of our socialist democratic system—and scientifically valid and economically expedient state administration ruling out arbitrary practices by the officialdom.

"There are many things that have to be reconsidered," Rubicic went on. "For instance, Yugoslavia is the first socialist country to have flung its door wide open to foreign capital. Now that this fruitful foreign capital has settled down and taken root on our soil, we surround it from all sides with all kinds of legislative protectionist restrictions, which are sometimes much stricter than even in the USSR. I am convinced that the objective laws of the market can neither be bypassed nor replaced with anything else, like, for example, the regulating function of the Party or the state. They cannot do any harm to socialism."

[Tsoppi] Among those in the West looking at perestroika in the USSR, there are some who say that nothing will come of it unless we renounce socialism in general. As if all the advantages have been and will invariably be on the side of the capitalist economy. As they see it, our system only has flaws. We, on the other hand, say that what we need is more socialism...

[Rubicic] "More socialism, this is the right orientation. The capitalist path of development is no good for us, no matter what they say. But what does it mean—to have 'more socialism'? We must restrict state intervention in economic processes. The state must not play the part of owner of the productive forces and the means of production. They must be controlled in real terms, with all the responsibility in the hands of the working people and their collectives.

"We in Yugoslavia have been paying close attention, as I would say, to the concept of perestroika developed in your country. We compare it with our own experience. In the past the Soviet comrades whom I happened to meet, if not condemned, then criticized us for the fact that in Yugoslavia the Party played a very weak role in guiding the economy, or for the fact that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) was indecisive in the sphere of management. Now our views are changing. The time has come for all of us to reconcile ideology with practice. They are at loggerheads solely through our own fault. After all, it is impossible to accept tacitly the contention that both the Yugoslav and the Soviet models of socialism have exhausted themselves. We have many common sources: the October Revolution, the emergence of such a form of democracy as the Soviets, Lenin's doctrine of the state..." [Rubicic ends]

...Volumes have been written about Yugoslav self-management. It is a subject of sharp polemics. I was greatly impressed by the talk I had with the editor-in-chief of SOCIJALIZAM magazine. Milija Komatina is a profound theoretician, both wise and witty, a sparkling polemist and a journalist of encyclopaedic erudition.

What, do you think, is modern socialism? I asked him.

[Komatina] "Ask me an easier question... If you remember, not so long ago some of our Western comrades proclaimed their intention to offer a new definition of

socialism, something like a 'third road'. They claimed that the potential of the world's first October Socialist Revolution had been depleted and that this event should be included in the category of entries at the museum of antiquities. In exchange, they offered nothing worth speaking about.

"I am convinced that the most urgent need for all socialist countries is to return to the fundamental Marxist-Leninist concept of socialism. You know as well as I that Lenin's ideas have now been questioned by many—in our country, and not only in our country. They contend that he was merely a precursor of Stalin or that Stalinism was unavoidable. But I am sure that this is simply a malicious view. Lenin's thought has not been exhausted by any means. It has not been placed, as it ought to have been, at the service of socialist practice.

"Indeed, in many socialist countries we are now witnessing the political factor taking precedence over economic, social and others. I'm referring to the Party-state bureaucracy. More often than not it pursues its own narrow interests and qualifies any infringement of them as an encroachment on the gains of the socialist revolution and on socialism, which makes it infallible and therefore omnipotent and unpunishable. And God forbid any pluralism of opinions appearing in society. But socialist society, though united, is neither homogenous nor monolithic. There are some who try mechanically to transplant onto socialist soil the experience of bourgeois democracy. No one denies that it has a useful function to perform. To a certain extent ideological pluralism and multi-party structure, admitted by it, make it possible to neutralize contradictions in a society whose citizens enjoy definite rights and liberties. They, however, wield no influence at all in the economic sphere. A hired worker remains a hired worker, which by no means indicates either that he is really free or that bourgeois democracy is a full and genuine democracy. Under socialism, however, democracy is called upon to influence the economy, production relations and the distribution of the social wealth directly, and, therefore, politics as well. This can be achieved only provided the Party works in the name of democracy for all.

"The whole point is that public ownership of the means of production must not be turned into a state monopoly on these means of production. As far as I know, the USSR has now come close to a solution of this problem by implementing the Law on State Enterprise."

[Tsoppi] There was a time when we had serious ideological differences. It was said that your self-management had nothing in common with socialism and only engendered the bourgeoisie. You affirmed in reply that the Soviet model of state socialism was detrimental since it didn't give practical effect to Lenin's idea of self-management. But, as a result, we have both now arrived at the conclusion that we must reconsider the social and state structures existing in our countries.

[Komatina] "We now openly admit that we have failed to translate our model of self-managed socialism completely into life, that we have deviated from it and lost our course. You, too, at last (though somewhat belatedly) have come to realize the attractiveness of, and necessity for the practice of self-management. Your glasnost, as I take it, is not a democratic scenery, but a reflection of the objective circumstances that the bodies of power (if this is socialist power) must be under the permanent democratic control of the broad masses of working people. But your concept of self-management should not necessarily correspond exactly to ours."

[Tsoppi] Do you believe in our success?

[Komatina] "I think that in the field of democratizing political life you have already gone somewhat further than Yugoslavia and several other socialist countries. Take, for instance, the changes in the electoral system. We, evidently, were once too much in a hurry and overformalized the principle of nominating several candidates per seat. We believed that, by relying exclusively on the system of delegation as the incarnation of direct democracy, and on selfmanagement, we would secure genuine government by the working people. But the sphere of management found itself alienated to some extent and unyielding to any form of control on their part. As early as the 1950s we proclaimed the need to separate the Party from the state. The Party, we said, must, while remaining at a certain distance from the managerial apparatus, be merely a political controller of its activities, a critical component of the system, and an ideological and theoretical guardian of socialism's purity. We - and this is also important to remember - have never renounced the contention that the Party must be the leading force of society, without being, however, a party vested with power, or the ruling party. But we have never been able to implement completely this concept, laid down in the LCY Programme. As a result, we find ourselves confronted today with the need to combat the forces that are active within the Party, and to combat the red tape of the managerial apparatus."

[Tsoppi] This is our concern as well.

[Komatina] "I know. You have to deal with a giant bureaucratic machinery under whose burden society has lived for decades. This obstacle is stronger than a fortress wall. So far it has been impenetrable. Mikhail Gorbachev has approached it in the new way. And may God give him enough courage! On the other hand, the implementation of the economic reform, based on the cognizance of objective uniformities, can—to a certain extent and for some time—disrupt the Soviet citizens' stable confidence of having been materially protected. But this is the most important gain of socialism! So far, the level of Soviet citizens' material well-being may have been lower than that of working people in highly developed capitalist countries, but it has been guaranteed. And, unlike

people in the West, Soviet people have never had to think that their future was not secure, or that they might be threatened, for instance, with unemployment.

"Nor can one shut one's eyes to the fact that great aims cannot be achieved overnight, right now. We have to work hard and over a long period for their attainment."

[Tsoppi] When Yugoslav industrial workers go on strike or, as you say, a "work stoppage", it is clear what they are standing up for: they want to be paid according to work done and they want their material well-being to be secured. But, while fighting for, they are evidently also fighting against? Against whom? Against socialism? Against self-management?

[Komatina] "They fight against the political bureaucracy trying to formalize its monopoly guidance of the economy and society, and also in an attempt to ensure that economic laws are primarily be taken into account. They go on strike not in protest against socialism or against self-management, but against the situation where selfmanagement does not (let us put it this way) manage everything in practice, and where their proclaimed rights, the rights of the workers, are in fact being seriously infringed upon from time to time." [Komatina ends]

...When in Yugoslavia, I had very interesting meetings with the most different people. In one way or another our discussions essentially focused on the problems encountered by socialism, whether the Yugoslav-type or ours, at the present stage, and on the methods used to solve these problems for the good of man and for the benefit of society's democratization.

"Gorbachev," I was told by Stanislav Marinkovic, editor-in-chief of the newspaper BORBA "is right in saying that you are only beginning to learn democracy. The same with us. We have still to learn how to argue, both with each other and with our opponents in the West. Not fearing mistakes, we must voice our opinion, agree or disagree with each other. One of our wise men recently asked a question: Why do we say that we have opponents of different shades and hues, why don't we say that our friends, too, have different views, that they are comrades who have opinions of their own and a special position that differs from ours? And that they do not stop being our friends and comrades just because of this?"

"We know that the Soviet press is very discrete [as spelled] in writing about a crisis in Yugoslavia. Do write! You will not offend anyone with objective information and conscientious analysis. We, for our part, would find it interesting to know what you think about us. Personally, I believe that our situation has never been so definite: the crisis is crushing old schemes, outdated concepts and illusory notions. It is breaking whatever had to be broken by the Party in due time. And, therefore, Yugoslav socialism today has, perhaps, even

more chances of successful development than it had in the recent past. It will be good if we are persistent and wise enough to put these chances to real use..."

As I feel, there will be enough of this.

West Europe

First Live Moscow-Bonn TV Link Established

INF Treaty Discussed

LD250918 Moscow TASS in English 0817 GMT
25 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 25 TASS—The first live TV link between Moscow and Bonn, which started today immediately after the midnight in Moscow and ended when it was midnight in Bonn, was devoted to Soviet-West German relations and the most vital international issues. The meeting, which lasted more than two hours, was attended by deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Bundestag of the Federal Republic of Germany (parliament), students from Moscow schools and Bonn University.

The problem of the earliest ratification of the Soviet-U.S. intermediate nuclear forces treaty sparked a lively debate. Both Soviet and West German participants spoke in favour of following up the first move, which provides for the elimination of Soviet and U.S. medium- and shorter-range missiles, with a 50 per cent cut in strategic offensive weapons, conventional weapons and by a chemical weapons ban.

West Germany supports the INF Treaty without reservations, said Egon Bahr, chairman of the parliament's subcommission on disarmament and arms control. "We are also for this document to take account of Pershing-1A missiles situated on the territory of the FRG. The problem of strengthening the system of international security is the key issue, which is crucial for determining how confidently mankind will look into the future. We need to lay down the principles of stability in Europe and in the conventional arms area, at the lowest possible level, and to create a nuclear-free corridor in Europe. We no longer need nuclear weapons."

Speaking of the ratification of the treaty, Yevgeniy Velikhov, vice president of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, chairman of the Energy Commission of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, said: "It is my understanding that on the whole the chances of ratifying the treaty by the USSR Supreme Soviet are very high because there are not any objections in principle to it. This treaty is also important in that it will help eliminate the whole class of weapons and mark a step towards a completely new attitude to the problems of on-site verification of the treaty."

Colonel General Vadim Lobov, first deputy chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the USSR, stressed that the Soviet Union was taking decisive measures to defuse the international situation and to create favourable possibilities for developing interstate relations. "The USSR," he said, "proposes to reveal in the course of the talks the disbalance and asymmetry in the armaments of the countries—members of the Warsaw Treaty and the NATO bloc. The elimination of weapons must be mutual rather than unilateral."

Sergey Losev, director-general of the TASS news agency, who serves on the Commission for Foreign Affairs of the USSR Supreme Soviet, noted that the Warsaw Treaty Organisation was yet to receive a reply to its serious proposals on the reduction of arms and armed forces in Central Europe. "The asymmetric reduction would not correspond to the balance of forces, because, one can say that the USSR and the Warsaw Treaty countries have an edge in central Europe on some components, like tanks and artillery, while NATO has the advantage on other components, in particular, strike aviation and the balance of forces on the southern flank, where the Warsaw Treaty is opposed by NATO countries."

Bilateral Ties Appraised

LD251029 Moscow TASS in English 0931 GMT
25 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 25 TASS—"History teaches us a very important lesson: When relations between Russians and Germans are good, it is also good for Europe. When these relations go awry, all Europe becomes feverish," said Sergey Losev, TASS director general, president of the USSR-FRG Society and member of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, during the first live Moscow-Bonn TV linkup which was held today. West German parliamentarians from all parties represented in the Bundestag had a TV dialogue with their Soviet counterparts—deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet. They had a two-hour thorough conversation on important international issues, relations between the two states, acute issues of domestic life of the FRG and Soviet perestroika.

Sergey Losev noted that now the two countries were on the eve of a new favourable advance in mutual relations: An understanding was reached on a visit by Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl to Moscow and the following visit by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to Bonn.

There were ups and downs in Soviet-West German relations, but now there are all prerequisites for them to improve, despite differences in the social and political systems, said Egon Bahr, a deputy to the West German Bundestag from the Social Democratic Party of Germany. Security questions, closely linked with solution of disarmament problems, are pivotal for relations between the USSR and the FRG.

Parliamentarians should think of how they can ensure the process of detente and contribute to creating a favourable climate for this, said Hans Sterken, chairman of the Bundestag Foreign Affairs Commission. It is high time to turn from the dialogue conducted now at various levels to specific actions, pointed out the West German parliamentarian.

Participants in the Soviet-West German TV dialogue concurred in the opinion that personal contacts and an exchange of tourist groups between the two countries are not active enough. They pointed to the need for contributing in every way to expanding personal contacts, the growth in youth exchanges, including in the forms that seemed impossible in the past. Otto Schilly, a representative of the Greens Party, noted that ordinary people, and not only statesmen, should talk politics.

Soviet and West German linkup participants expressed mutual desire for making their contribution to improve mutual understanding between the peoples of the USSR and the FRG. They noted that both Germans and Soviet people understand well their responsibility to history and expressed a wish to strive for establishment of friendly relations between peoples and states.

Schoolchildren of a Bonn secondary school and university students studying Russian were invited to participate in the TV linkup on the West German side, and secondary school and university students studying German—on the Soviet side.

Afghanistan, Armenia Reviewed

*LD251042 Moscow TASS in English 1006 GMT
25 Mar 88*

[Text] Moscow March 25 TASS—The first live TV link between Moscow and Bonn was held today to discuss vital international issues and Soviet-West German relations, providing a better insight into what makes the peoples of the two countries tick.

Deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet held a two-hour TV dialogue with their West German counterparts—members of the West German Bundestag. Soviet and West German participants in the meeting expressed their mutual striving to contribute to better understanding between the peoples of the USSR and FRG, to stronger system of international security.

Replying to questions by the West German audience on the situation around Afghanistan and the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh, TASS Director-General Sergey Losev, member of the Commission for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet and president of the USSR-FRG Society, said that the Soviet position on the settlement of the situation around Afghanistan was clear: We are ready to pull out troops within the acceptable time-frame. This was permanently on the agenda of the Geneva talks held through the personal envoy of the U.N. secretary-general. Suddenly,

at the final stage when the agreement was practically ready, the Pakistani side advanced completely new demands, delaying the signing of the agreement. Those who are putting off its signing, also take on themselves full responsibility for the delay in settling the conflict. The Pakistani side must give a thought to the possible consequences first of all.

On Nagorno-Karabakh, Sergey Losev said that the Supreme Soviets of Union republics had already determined their position on the problem. The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet in its resolution is fully guided by Article 81 of the USSR Constitution, which says that "the sovereign rights of Union republics shall be safeguarded by the USSR."

The problem is a complex one, Sergey Losev said. But then who does not have nationalities problems? The USSR has more than 100 peoples and nationalities. We can take pride in what we have achieved in solving the nationalities question, which is a live and developing problem. But we made a mistake in the past believing that the nationalities issue was solved once and for all. It must be tackled permanently because new problems keep arising, while the failure to solve them gives rise to unsound situations like the one in Karabakh.

The MP reminded that the FRG, which had one nationality, also faced problems, for example, with foreign workers. Similar problems existed in Belgium.

The problem of Nagorno-Karabakh will be solved. The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee on Thursday took a decision to speed up the socio-economic development of the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region, i.e. to satisfy the really existing complaints. It is important to create a microclimate that will be conducive to tackling the issue. One must not put pressure or give vent to one's emotions. Emotions in such painful issues are hardly the best way to solving them, Sergey Losev said.

Further on Shevardnadze Stopover in Portugal

Meets With CP Leader

*LD241819 Moscow TASS in English 1750 GMT
24 Mar 88*

[Text] Lisbon March 24 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, met here today with General Secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party [PCP] Alvaro Cunhal.

Shevardnadze informed Cunhal about the results of the Soviet-American talks in Washington.

The sides exchanged views of trends in international affairs and noted the existence of favourable conditions for invigorating efforts to curbing the arms race and averting the threat of nuclear war.

Shevardnadze and Cunhal held a comradely exchange of views. [Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 25 March 1988 on page 7 of its First Edition publishes a TASS report on the Shevardnadze-Cunhal talks, adding: "Shevardnadze and Cunhal held a comradely exchange of views in a friendly atmosphere."]

Holds Talks With Officials

LD242046 Moscow TASS in English 2016 GMT
24 Mar 88

[Text] Lisbon March 24 TASS—On March 24, Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR foreign minister, made a stopover in Lisbon en route home from Washington. He was received by President Mario Soares of Portugal, met with Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva and held talks with Foreign Minister Joao De Deus Pinheiro.

Eduard Shevardnadze conveyed greetings and good wishes from Mikhail Gorbachev to the president of Portugal and the other Portuguese leaders.

In the course of the meetings and talks, the present-day international situation, the state and prospects for Soviet-Portuguese relations were analysed. The assertion was noted in world politics of the trend towards easing tensions, broadening cooperation and building up trust.

Both sides spoke highly of the results of the Soviet-American summit meeting in December 1987, stressed the significance of the signing at it of the treaty on intermediate and shorter-range missiles.

The Portuguese leaders were briefed on the Soviet-American talks held in Washington on March 21-23. The Portuguese side expressed satisfaction with the agreement reached on the date for the next summit meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President Ronald Reagan in Moscow, and expressed support for the aim set for that meeting—reaching an agreement between the USSR and the United States on a 50 percent cut in strategic offensive weapons in conditions of observance of the ABM Treaty.

Eduard Shevardnadze explained the Soviet stand, which was set forth at the talks with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz on the armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe. The point at issue is that agreement be reached on the issue of exchange of information on such forces and arms on the scale of Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals even before the start of the official talks on the basis of the future mandate of the Vienna meeting. In so doing, information is to be published not only about the total strength of the troops and the quantity of arms of the two military-political blocs, but also information for each region—central Europe, the European north and the southern areas of the continent. Information could also be exchanged on the strength of the conventional armed forces of each country. This

would create favourable conditions for an effective holding of subsequent talks on a cut in the conventional forces in Europe, would contribute to the elimination of mutual suspicion and lead to building up trust between states and military political alliances.

The Soviet side expressed hope that Portugal would support on an individual basis and at NATO the idea of such an exchange of information as the first step on the way towards eliminating disbalances and asymmetry in the armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe.

Questions were also touched upon concerning the development of the Helsinki process, the need was stressed for the speediest attainment at the Vienna meeting of representatives of the states—participants in the Conference on European Security and Cooperation of weighty balanced practical results, including in the field of humanitarian and economic cooperation.

In examining the regional conflicts, main attention was devoted to the situation in southern Africa. The Portuguese side set forth its viewpoint on the possible ways of eliminating that chronic seat of tensions. Considering the coincident elements in the stands of the sides on that issue, it was found advisable to carry on an exchange of views on these subjects with the prospect of possible practical proposals.

The Portuguese leaders expressed satisfaction with the development of the political dialogue with the Soviet Union. They reaffirmed the availability of favourable opportunities for a further intensification and deepening of Soviet-Portuguese relations, developing in them of the positive trends, which manifested themselves in the course of the official visit of President Mario Soares of Portugal to the USSR in November 1987.

The conversations were of a friendly character and proceeded in a frank constructive atmosphere.

Returns to Moscow

LD242343 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 2036 GMT 24 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, 24 Mar (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and foreign minister of the USSR, returned to Moscow today.

On the way home from Washington he made a stopover in Lisbon.

Eduard Shevardnadze was met at the airport in Moscow by Vadim Nikonov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo; Anatoliy Kovalev, USSR first deputy minister of foreign affairs; and other officials.

In the welcoming party was J. Joyce, U.S. charge d'affaires ad interim in the USSR, and Sergio Alexandre Cabral, Portuguese ambassador to the USSR.

Supreme Soviet Delegation on Scandinavia Tour

Meets Swedish Parliamentarians

LD250603 Moscow TASS in English 2225 GMT
24 Mar 88

[Text] Stockholm March 24 TASS—The group of deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet led by Vice-President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet V.S. Shevchenko, who are currently on a visit here, have met today with representatives of the leadership of all the political parties of the Swedish Riksdag (parliament). In the course of the meetings the Soviet MPs briefed their counterparts on the perestroika currently under way in the USSR. In their turn, representatives of the Swedish parties noted that the people of Sweden are attentively following the processes of ensuring more openness (glasnost) and democracy in the Soviet Union, which are also of international significance.

A meeting was held with members of the Riksdag Foreign Policy Committee led by its Chairman S. Alemyr. The Swedish MPs welcomed the Soviet-American INF Treaty, which has been the first history-making step on the way towards real nuclear disarmament. They also stressed the pressing need for taking further measures for building a nuclear free world, including the conclusion of a treaty on a 50 percent cut in strategic offensive weapons and on putting an end to all nuclear tests in the world. It was noted that the creation in Nordic Europe of a zone free from nuclear weapons would be a good contribution by the European Nordic countries to the drive for nuclear disarmament. The Swedish parliament earlier unanimously declared that the country's government should build up efforts towards creating such a zone in Nordic Europe. The Soviet MPs drew attention to the appeal by the foreign affairs commissions of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet to the parliaments and parliamentarians of the European Nordic states, the USA and Canada. As S. Alemyr stressed in that connection, this document contains many proposals on a broader range of issues, which is necessary for a detailed and careful examination being held in Riksdag currently.

It was stressed in the course of the meeting with Pierre Shori, secretary general of the Swedish Foreign Ministry, that the Soviet-Swedish political dialogue is a positive development. Its latest example were the Soviet-Swedish political consultations at the Swedish Foreign Ministry, taking part in which from the Soviet side were V.F. Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister. The concurrence was noted of the stands of the USSR and Sweden on the key issues of strengthening international peace and security and eliminating of the threat of nuclear war. Touching upon the comprehensive programme for strengthening security, cooperation and trust in the north of the world, which was set forth by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in Murmansk and specified during the official visit to Sweden of Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, in January this year, Pierre

Shori declared for broadening cooperation in the field of environmental protection and peaceful development of the resources of the north. As far as the security problems are concerned, including in the naval field, he stressed here Sweden's obvious interests in resolving these issues in an even broader international context, for example, within the framework of the all-European process or at the U.N. The conversation also covered the course of the Soviet-American talks on a cut in strategic offensive weapons, the state of things at the Vienna meeting of representatives of the states—participants in the Conference on European Security and Cooperation, Sweden's activities within the framework of the "initiative of six for peace and disarmament". Discussing the regional problems, the Soviet MPs drew attention to the USSR's constructive stand aimed at the speediest settlement of the problem around Afghanistan.

Soviet Appeals 'Studied'

LD241622 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1020 GMT 24 Mar 88

[Text] Stockholm, 24 Mar (TASS)—A group of USSR Supreme Soviet deputies, which is in Stockholm, headed by V.S. Shevchenko, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, met on 23 March with I. Bengtsson, speaker of the Swedish Riksdag (parliament). The Soviet parliamentarians are making a tour of the countries of northern Europe with the purpose of clarifying to statesmen and deputies of the parliaments of the Scandinavian countries the large-scale Soviet initiatives set forth in the speech of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in Murmansk, and specified in the course of the visits of N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to Sweden and Norway.

During a conversation that took place, the significance of developing contacts among the parliamentarians of both countries for further strengthening trust and mutual understanding between the peoples of Sweden and the USSR was stressed. It was noted that the interparliamentary links between the two countries had been developing in the direction of continuity [v postupatelnom napravlenii]. Last year's visits of a Riksdag delegation, headed by I. Bengtsson, to the Soviet Union, and of the delegations of the foreign affairs commissions of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet, headed by V.V. Zagladin, secretary of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Soviet of the Union, to Sweden, were important milestones on that path. The Swedish Riksdag has also invited a delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet to come to Sweden on an official visit. Such visits play a great role in the cause of strengthening and developing comprehensive contacts between Swedish and Soviet parliamentarians.

Having dwelt on the complex program of strengthening security, cooperation, and trust in the north of the planet, which was put forward by the Soviet Union, the Soviet parliamentarians drew attention to the appeal of

the foreign affairs commissions of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet to the parliaments and parliamentarians of the states of northern Europe, the United States, and Canada. As I. Bengtsson pointed out, this document is being thoroughly studied by Riksdag deputies. Free exchanges of opinions and discussions between the parliamentarians of both countries on the issues tackled in the appeal appear to be quite useful.

Taking part in the conversation, which passed in a friendly atmosphere, was B.D. Pankin, USSR ambassador to Sweden.

Zaykov To Lead Delegation to Finland 5 Apr
LD241449 Moscow TASS in English 1432 GMT
24 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 24 TASS—A Soviet delegation will visit Finland on April 5 through 8 to attend observances marking the 40th anniversary of the Soviet-Finnish Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance of 1948. The delegation will be led by Lev Zaykov, a member of the Politburo and a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU.

Latin America & Caribbean

Ortega Comments on Cease-Fire Agreement
LD241524 Moscow TASS in English 1420 GMT
24 Mar 88

[Text] Managua March 24 TASS—President Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua has described a ceasefire agreement signed here with leaders of the armed counterrevolutionary groups as a major step on the way to achieving peace and stopping the bloody war.

In a statement made after the signing of the agreement the president of Nicaragua pointed out that Nicaragua had always come out in defense of territorial integrity, self-determination, independence, freedom, democracy and peace. The Sapoa meeting demonstrated a tremendous concern of all the Nicaraguans over the destiny of their country. The Nicaraguan people are going to build society based on the principles of political pluralism, mixed economy and non-alignment.

The president expressed high appreciation of the efforts exerted by the Contadora Group and the Support Group which permitted countries of the region to sign the Guatemala accords on the quest for ways towards establishing durable and lasting peace in Central America. "We have made the first important step, and now it is the turn of the U.S. Administration to demonstrate its interest in the discontinuation of the war in Nicaragua. The loss of life as a result of the war amounted to some 50,000 Nicaraguans," he said. Daniel Ortega urged U.S. President Reagan to make his contribution to a peaceful

settlement in the country and to the termination of the war against Nicaragua, as well as to take steps towards the normalization of bilateral relations.

U.S. Applies Financial Pressure on Panama
LD241407 Moscow TASS in English 0849 GMT
24 Mar 88

[Text] Washington March 24 TASS—The United States has moved to increase financial and economic pressure on Panama. President Reagan signed an executive order Wednesday, sanctioning the denial of various customs and other privileges to that country. The system of export-import concessions in trade with the United States, the so-called Caribbean initiatives, will not be applied to Panama from now on either.

These measures, once enacted, will lead to a sharp increase in duties on the export to the United States of Panamanian commodities worth almost two million dollars. Earlier, the United States has already announced the suspension of monthly payments to Panama for the use of the Panama Canal. In March, the United States withheld the payment of 6.5 million dollars to that country for its operation of the Panama Canal zone. Earlier, it freed the Panamanian Government's assets in U.S. banks.

All these measures have sharply aggravated the financial position of that country which uses the U.S. dollar as the key monetary unit, and brought about an acute shortage of money. UPI News Agency frankly writes that the current steps by the administration are designed to deny Panama the funds necessary to finance the government activity.

Reportage on Uruguayan President's Visit

'Joint Statement'

PM251421 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Mar 88
Second Edition p 5

["Soviet-Uruguayan Joint Statement"]

[Text] At the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Soviet Government, Julio Maria Sanguinetti, President of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay, paid an official visit to the USSR 19-23 March 1988.

President J.M. Sanguinetti and the persons accompanying him were given a warm, enthusiastic welcome reflecting the feelings of mutual respect and trust between the Soviet and Uruguayan peoples.

President J.M. Sanguinetti and the persons accompanying him visited Moscow and Leningrad, which allowed them to acquaint themselves with various aspects of the life of the Soviet people and their achievements in the economic, scientific, and cultural spheres.

President J.M. Sanguinetti laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at the Kremlin Wall. A wreath also was laid at the Piskarevskoye Cemetery in Leningrad.

During the stay in Moscow there was a meeting between President J.M. Sanguinetti and M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

During the visit, Soviet-Uruguayan negotiations took place. They allowed an open and constructive exchange of views to be held on questions of developing bilateral cooperation and on a broad range of international issues of mutual interest.

Taking part in the talks were:

On the Soviet side—A.A. Gromyko, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; A.F. Ryuytel, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; A.E. Voss, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet; V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; T.N. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; A.I. Kachanov, USSR first deputy minister of foreign economic relations; K.N. Brutents, deputy head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee; V.G. Komplektov, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs; and I.K. Laptev, USSR ambassador to Uruguay.

On the Uruguayan side: Dr Julio Maria Sanguinetti, president of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay; Luis Barrios, minister of Foreign affairs; Ricardo Zervino, minister of economic and finance; Senators Jorge Batlle and Alfredo Traversoni; General Liber Seregni, chairman of the Broad Front; Federico Slinger, president of the Bank; Nelson Nicollelo, member of the Supreme Court; Isidoro Odara, general director of the Directorate for Foreign Trade of the Ministry of Economy and Finance; Ernesto Carrau, chairman of the Chamber of Commerce; Julio Franco, president of the Exporters' Union; Mario Fernandez, special ambassador; Nestor Cosentino, chairman of the Chamber of Industry; Walter Nessi, deputy chairman of the President's Office; and Juan Jose Real, ambassador of Uruguay to the USSR.

The sides gave a positive appraisal of the level of relations achieved in recent years between the USSR and Uruguay, which are an example of the successful realization of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with differing political, economic, and social systems. There was confirmation of their mutual commitment to the further development of bilateral ties in various spheres on the basis of the principles of the legal equality of states, mutual respect, and noninterference in one another's internal affairs.

Both sides laid stress upon the important significance of the deepening Soviet-Uruguayan political dialogue, and of ties between the governments, parliaments, and other state institutions, which in addition to the established practice of regular political consultations carried out on the basis of the 1986 Soviet-Uruguayan protocol, enables an exchange of opinions on a wide spectrum of issues of bilateral relations and the key problems of today to be conducted in the spirit of trust, frankness, and respect, thereby promoting constructive interaction between the USSR and Uruguay in the world arena in the name of peace, security, and progress.

During an examination of Soviet-Uruguayan trade and economic ties, particular attention was given to analyzing the opportunities existing in this sphere for increasing and diversifying trade exchange and for developing economic cooperation on a stable and mutually advantageous basis.

In this context, the sides noted the positive importance of the intergovernmental agreement on reciprocal goods deliveries for 1988-90 which was signed during the visit, and also of the accords on trade exchange in 1988 and on extending the schedule for concluding contracts in accordance with the 1984 intergovernmental protocol on deliveries of machinery and equipment to Uruguay from the USSR.

The sides expressed certainty of the need to continue efforts to seek new directions and forms for bilateral trade and economic cooperation, in particular industrial cooperation and setting up of mixed and other enterprises. In the opinion of the sides, this will be facilitated by the proposals and recommendations worked out during the 3d session of the Soviet-Uruguayan Intergovernmental Commission on Trade and Economic Cooperation which took place in Montevideo in February 1988.

The sides underlined their readiness to speed up studies with the aim of signing an agreement on cooperation in the sphere of industrial ownership, exchange of technological information, and monitoring of technology transfer.

Both sides also expressed their commitment to continuing work on determining the mechanisms for cooperation in matters relating to fishing, and expressed their readiness to expand the study of the economic and technical aspects necessary for signing an agreement on cooperation in providing port facilities for fishing ships.

The sides confirmed their mutual commitment to expanding cooperation in the field of air transport and agreed to continue studying the question of signing an intergovernmental agreement on air communications.

The sides noted the successful implementation of the program for cultural and scientific exchanges in 1987-88 which was signed on the basis of the agreement on cultural and scientific cooperation which went into effect

in 1987. They expressed support for the further expansion of fruitful links in the fields of culture, science, education, and sports, and for encouraging bilateral exchanges in those spheres which will promote the mutual spiritual enrichment of the links between their peoples and the growth of trust between them.

During a thorough examination of topical international problems, attention was focused chiefly on an assessment of the current world situation and the prospects for its development. Agreement to continue reciprocal consultations on the same issues on the basis of a corresponding protocol was confirmed. The exchange of opinions which was held confirmed that the approaches by the Soviet Union and Uruguay to top priority international problems are in many respects close and sometimes coincide.

The sides reaffirmed their unvarying adherence to such fundamental principles and norms of international law as the sovereign equality of states, the peaceful resolution of disputes, the banning of the use of force and the threat to use it, compliance with international agreements and treaties, respect for territorial integrity, the self-determination of peoples, and noninterference in the internal affairs of states.

They expressed the conviction that the current international situation demands new political thinking and a constructive approach to the complex and interdependent realities of the world today in the interests of strengthening the security of all countries. A solution to the key question of the day—prevention of the nuclear threat, the preservation of human civilization, and the building of a nuclear-free world free of violence—is possible only on the condition that active, joint efforts are made by all states regardless of their political, economic, and social system, their size, or geographical position.

The Soviet Union and Uruguay stated their firm support for UN efforts to develop the process of disarmament and broad international cooperation. They favor enhancing the effectiveness of the United Nations and its Security Council in maintaining international peace and security, resolving crisis situations and regional conflicts, and peacefully settling international disputes, and they favor the strengthening of its legal, political, and moral status.

The sides found that their approaches to the question of an all-embracing international peace and security system coincide. Stress was laid on the need to develop and strengthen the broad international exchange of opinions on ways and means to ensure security in the world today on the basis of the UN Charter and within the UN framework. They expressed support for the implementation of decisions adopted by the UN General Assembly on this issue.

The sides noted with satisfaction the adoption during the 42nd session of the UN General Assembly of the declaration of enhancing the effectiveness of the principle of renouncing the threat of force or its use in international relations, which directs the states toward the necessity to activate efforts on reducing tension in the world, first and foremost through removing the threat of war, both nuclear and conventional.

The Soviet side drew the attention of the Uruguayan side to the significance of the concrete steps which it undertakes in order to implement the program of complete and universal elimination of nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction by the end of this century.

The sides are unanimous that the Soviet-U.S. summit in Washington in December 1987 was a major event in world political life. The treaty signed between the USSR and the United States on the elimination of their intermediate- and shorter-range missiles is of historic significance and opens up real prospects for lowering the level of nuclear confrontation; for reducing the danger of nuclear conflict; for beginning a broad and dynamic process of real disarmament, in which the focal point is the problem of reducing strategic offensive weapons; halting and banning nuclear tests; the speediest possible conclusion of a convention on the comprehensive ban and destruction of all chemical weapons; and the balanced reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments.

Both sides believe that discussion of disarmament problems should be stepped up in every possible way in the United Nations, at the disarmament conference, and at other multilateral forums which provide an opportunity for all countries of the international community to participate in a constructive way in seeking solutions to the key problems facing mankind. Particular significance in this connection is attached to the third special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament, which should become an important stage on the path to creating favorable conditions for advancing the cause of disarmament and enhancing the role and effectiveness of the United Nations's work in this sphere. It was noted that the existing agreements and treaties in the field of arms limitation, including the ABM Treaty, must be fulfilled.

The sides spoke out against the proliferation of the arms race in space. They noted the importance of developing international cooperation in the matter of using atomic energy for peaceful purposes, creating an international mechanism for the safe development of nuclear power engineering, and enhancing the role of the IAEA. The need was stressed for the further strengthening of the mechanism for monitoring the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, and also for the creation of nuclear-free zones in the world as one of the means of achieving the complete ridding of the planet of nuclear weapons. The Uruguayan side noted with satisfaction that the Soviet Union had once again stated its support for the

efforts of the Latin American countries which are being implemented within the framework of the Treaty on the Banning of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (the Tlatelolco Treaty). Both sides spoke out in support of the creation of a zone of peace and cooperation in the South Atlantic. Having discussed question connected with the situation in various areas of the globe, the sides expressed serious concern over the persistence and exacerbation of regional conflicts, and voiced their conviction that settling them on the basis of international law would help to ease tension and reinforce universal security and trust between states.

Having scrutinized the situation in Central America, the Soviet Union and Uruguay spoke out firmly and resolutely against the pursuit there of a policy of pressure and interference, came out in support of the peace-making efforts of the participants in the Contadora Group and its Support Group, and confirmed the need to implement the 'Esquipulas-2' Guatemala Agreements in full. In this connection, they expressed their conviction that a peaceful and just settlement can be achieved in Central America only if due consideration is given to the interests of all the Central American countries and by the efforts of the Latin American states themselves on the basis of respect for the sovereign rights of the countries in the region and of their right to an independent path of development. The Uruguayan side rates positively the Soviet Union's readiness to promote the establishment of peace in Central America, as expressed in its resolute support for the efforts by the Latin American countries to ensure strict implementation of the Guatemala accords. The Soviet side rated highly the contribution made by Uruguay and other Latin American countries to the cause of establishing peace in that region.

Both sides expressed profound concern over the situation taking shape in southern Africa, which demands an immediate peaceful settlement, and they condemned the apartheid regime, which debases human dignity and fails to recognize the international community's insistent appeals for an end to that discriminatory practice. They once again reaffirmed that independence must be granted promptly to Namibia on the basis of the relevant UN General Assembly resolutions. The USSR and Uruguay spoke in favor of convening as soon as possible a plenipotentiary international conference on the Middle East under UN auspices with all the parties concerned taking part, and also with the five permanent members of the Security Council participating, with a view to attaining a just and comprehensive settlement in the region with the legitimate interests of all those involved in the conflict taken into account.

It was stressed that it is necessary to stop as soon as possible the armed conflict between Iran and Iraq, and to steer it in the direction of a political settlement, taking into account the legitimate interests of both sides in accordance with Security Council Resolution 598. The Soviet side drew the attention of the Uruguayan side to the importance of its proposals on normalization of the

Persian Gulf situation, including those on withdrawal of the ships of nonlittoral states, and on formation of a UN naval force. Speaking in favor of peacefully resolving all conflicts, the sides stressed the urgent need to solve the Afghan problem as quickly as possible in the interests of peace and stability in Asia. The Soviet side, in the spirit of M.S. Gorbachev's Statement of 8 February 1988, confirmed that it is ready to withdraw its troops after agreements drawn up in Geneva at the Afghan-Pakistani talks are signed. Both sides stressed that it is necessary to secure for Afghanistan the position of an independent and neutral state.

The sides noted with satisfaction the coincidence of assessments of the main problems of current international economic relations and conceptual approaches toward regulating them in the interests of the entire world community.

In both sides' opinion, the task of safeguarding universal peace, security, and stability of development today requires a new dynamic approach to restructuring international economic relations and decisive and all-round actions on national, bilateral, and multilateral levels. Only by the efforts of all states can an irreversible deterioration in the world economy be avoided.

In this connection, the sides especially stressed the significance of the decisions made at the United Nations aimed at restructuring international economic relations on a just, democratic basis, at establishing a new international economic order, and at safeguarding the international economic security of all states.

Both sides advocate the strengthening of the United Nations and the organizations of the UN system, in particular UNCTAD, GATT, ECLAC [Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean] and other regional commissions as forums of universal dialogue aimed at coordinating practical measures to impart a predictable, equal, and stable nature to the process of the development of the world economy and to use economic interdependence for the benefit of all countries.

The Uruguayan side drew attention to the importance of the Uruguayan round of the GATT for ensuring greater liberalization of international trade and strengthening its multilateral nature. Noting the increasing impact of GATT on the processes of regulating international trade, the sides agreed that GATT, because of its universal nature, should be open for all sides who are interested and ready to fulfill the appropriate commitments to join it. In these conditions the Uruguayan side supports the USSR's desire to take part in multilateral trade talks within the GATT framework. The Soviet side, noting Uruguay's contribution to achieving the harmonious development of international trade and economic relations and the support it had expressed, accepted with satisfaction this position of the Uruguayan side.

The sides attach important significance to the task of strengthening the international currency and finance system and creating an effective interstate regulation of currency relations on an equal basis. Profound concern was expressed at the problem of the foreign debt of the developing countries, without a settlement to which the stable economic growth of the debtor countries and the stabilization of the socio-economic processes occurring in them are impossible. In this context the sides agreed on the need to assist the steady growth of international trade by doing away with the practice of protectionism, which would thus open up to the developing countries access to resources which would enable them to ensure steady economic growth. The sides called for an international conference to be held with the participation of all the interested sides to work out approaches to a just settlement to the debt problem.

The USSR and Uruguay emphasized the close link between disarmament and development, as well as the need to switch the resources used for military ends over to nations' social and economic development.

The sides favored the respecting of human rights and the assertion of civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights, the further improvement of international humanitarian ties, and the development of multilateral international cooperation in this field, including within the UN framework. They stressed the need for states to strengthen their interaction in the fields of culture, information, education, and contacts between people, institutions, and organizations.

It was emphasized that international terrorism in all its manifestations constitutes a serious threat to the cause of peace, security, and cooperation between nations. The sides resolutely condemn terrorist activity of any kind and call for broad cooperation between states with a view to the adoption of effective measures in accordance with international law to eradicate terrorism.

Both sides agreed that the treaty on the Antarctic and the agreements that supplement it from a multilateral legal basis has been effectively operating for over 25 years, and they came out in favor of strengthening and improving that mechanism of international law.

Both sides expressed profound satisfaction with the results of the official visit paid to the Soviet Union by Julio Maria Sanguinetti, president of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay, the first such high-level visit in the history of the relations between the two countries. The event marks an important stage in developing and strengthening Soviet-Uruguayan relations in various fields, and creates new conditions for further cooperation between the USSR and Uruguay for the benefit of the peoples of the two countries, and for the sake of peace throughout the world.

At the conclusion of his visit, J.M. Sanguinetti, president of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay, expressed to A.A. Gromyko, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, his profound gratitude for the warm welcome extended by the Soviet leadership to him, his wife, and the persons accompanying him.

More on Departure

*PM241245 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Mar 88
Second Edition p 5*

[TASS report under the general heading: "Visit Over"]

[Text] Julio Maria Sanguinetti, president of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay, left the USSR 23 March. He had been paying an official visit to our country at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Soviet Government.

At Vnukovo Airport J.M. Sanguinetti and his wife were seen off at the aircraft steps by A.A. Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and his wife.

A.E. Voss, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and other officials participated in the send-off.

The state flags of Uruguay and the Soviet Union had been hoisted at the airport, and an honor guard of three branches of the USSR Armed Forces—Ground Forces, the Air Force, and the Navy—was drawn up on the airfield. A band played the two countries' national anthems.

A.A. Gromyko and J.M. Sanguinetti inspected the Soviet servicemen.

The send-off ceremony ended with a march by the honor guard.

Political & Social

Politburo Discusses Karabakh, Official Visits *PM251357 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Mar 88* *Second Edition pp 1-2*

[Unattributed Report: "At the CPSU Central Committee Politburo"]

[Text] At a meeting on 24 March, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo discussed a report on the results of recruitment to the CPSU in 1987. Note was taken of the further organizational and political reinforcement of the party ranks. In democratizing the process of selecting new party members, the party organizations have begun to make broad use of the practice of preliminary discussion of applications at collective assemblies and taking a more demanding attitude toward checking the qualities of those joining the party, and toward assessing their activities, behavior, and moral make-up.

At the same time, the necessary positive changes in this work have not occurred in many party organizations. There are still cases of a formal and statistical approach and of harsh regulation of the recruitment of new party members. Insufficient attention is being devoted to drawing active fighters for restructuring into the party ranks. It has been proposed to party committees that they comprehensively analyze the state of this work, that they step up the ideological education of Communists, and persistently enhance their vanguard role in implementing the economic reform and the democratization of life in the party and in society. Emphasis was placed on the need for strict adherence to the CPSU Central Committee's principled policies regarding the forming and reinforcing of party ranks with people for whom active participation in restructuring has become the main meaning of life.

With the participation of the first secretaries of the central committees of the union republic Communist parties and of a number of party obkoms and kraykoms, an examination was made of the progress achieved in fulfilling the 11 July 1986 decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on measures for enhancing the stability of the country's grain farming and increasing the grain and fodder resources during the 12th 5-year period. It was noted at the session that a considerable increase in yields and gross harvests has been achieved in many farms in various zones in the country where true priority has been attached to grain production and where grain crop cultivation has been carried out by contract collectives and with the application of intensive technologies. Thanks to the intensification of production, the gross grain harvest for 1986-87 in the country as a whole increased by 17 percent and there was an improvement in the quality of the grain procured by the state.

However, a breakthrough in grain farming has not been achieved. The planned volumes of grain production are not being secured. In many republics, krays, and oblasts work being done with machine operators, specialists, and farm managers on studying advanced experience and scientific achievements is being performed at a low level, and the resources being invested are not producing proper returns. Shortcomings in the production of pulse crops have not been overcome and this is leading to great over-consumption of fodder grain. Scientifically-based land cultivation systems are being mastered in an uncreative way, technological discipline remains at a low level, and there has been virtually no redistribution of allocated resources in favor of grain crops. Work on introducing intensive technologies and various forms of financial autonomy contracting is being carried out, largely in a formal manner.

The leaders of the USSR Ministries of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building, of Mineral Fertilizer Production, of the Chemical Industry, of Construction, Road, and Municipal Machine Building, of Construction Materials, and other departments have displayed a lack of discipline and have failed to fulfill their obligations to grain farmers in the delivery of machines and the materials necessary for the intensive technologies. The Politburo has demanded that the Communist Party central committees and councils of ministers of the union republics, the party kraykoms and obkoms, the USSR Gosagroprom, and other union ministries and departments should take measures to help enhance the stability of the country's grain farming, further increase gross grain harvests, and considerably improve its food and fodder qualities. In doing this, attention must be mainly focused on the assimilation in every farm of intensive technologies by financially autonomous links working on collective, family, lease-hold, and other contracts, in order to obtain a big harvest of grain and other crops as early as this year.

The Politburo approved the decision by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on accelerating the social and economic development of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast of the Azerbaijani SSR in the period 1988-95. A broad package of measures is envisaged for considerably reinforcing the material and technical base of the social sphere and for developing the oblast's productive forces and infrastructure. A considerable expansion of construction of housing, general education schools, preschool establishments, hospitals, and other social and cultural facilities is envisioned. Work on ensuring reliable reception of the all-union television channel, as well as the full range of broadcasts by Azerbaijani and Armenian television will be completed. There will be an increase in the amount of literature published in Armenian, and there will be an expansion of restoration and renovation work on historical and cultural monuments. It remains an important task to educate working people and the entire people in a spirit of internationalism, fraternal friendship, and

mutual assistance and it is essential to resolutely cut short the slightest manifestation of nationalism or lack of respect for the national feelings of representatives of different peoples.

It is planned to increase industrial output by more than 50 percent by the end of the 13th 5-Year Plan by constructing new enterprises and modernizing and retooling existing ones. The oblast's agro-industrial complex will be further developed. The amount of road building work will almost double.

The session supported government proposals aimed at deepening the restructuring process in foreign economic activity. Measures to further improve the organizational structure of foreign economic organizations, ministries, and departments were approved. It was recognized as expedient to transfer these organizations to full financial autonomy, and to reduce the number of levels and staff. It is planned to considerably improve the work of foreign economic organizations abroad. It is envisioned that the USSR's trade missions will fully represent the foreign economic interests of our state in the countries where they are located, and will be responsible for the development of economic relations with foreign countries.

The Politburo examined the results of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's official friendly visit to the SFRY, and the negotiations and talks with Mojsov, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Kronic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and other Yugoslav leaders. The visit was a most important political event in Soviet-Yugoslav relations and strengthened the atmosphere of trust and mutual understanding between the two countries, and revealed a similarity of approaches to a number of major problems of socialist development and international relations.

High appraisal was given to the Soviet-Yugoslav declaration and to the long-term program of economic cooperation between the USSR and Yugoslavia for the period up to the year 2000, which expresses mutual readiness to bring the entire package of cooperation up to new and higher levels, based on the principles enshrined in the documents of 1955 and 1956. Party and soviet organs, ministries, and departments are instructed to consistently work to enhance the dynamism and quality of Soviet-Yugoslav ties in all aspects, in the spirit of the summit-level accords.

Approval was given to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's meeting with a group of prominent U.S. senators and scientists visiting Moscow at the invitation of the USSR Parliamentary Group. This meeting fits in well with the increasingly dynamic nature of political dialogue in relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, which should promote better mutual understanding between the two sides and their interaction in world affairs.

The Politburo approved the results of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's meeting, and Comrade Gromyko's negotiations with President Sanguinetti of Uruguay. It was pointed out that as a result of this meeting and the negotiations, relations between the Soviet Union and Uruguay have been developed further, on the basis of mutual understanding, mutual trust and cooperation, and also taking account of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social orders. Stress was laid on the need for further deepening interaction with Uruguay and other Latin American states which are striving to make their contribution to achieving a just settlement of the situation in Central America. This interaction will also be aimed at a nonmilitary settlement of regional conflicts and at promoting foreign-policy initiatives in the name of improving the international climate, disarmament, and strengthening peace.

The results of the conference on ideological matters of secretaries of central committees of socialist and workers' parties of the socialist countries, which was held in Ulaanbaatar, were examined, and the work of the CPSU delegation was approved. The conference offered an opportunity to exchange opinions and experience on problems connected with the new political thinking and the ideological work of the fraternal parties at the current stage, which is particularly topical in the conditions of the profound social and economic transformations and the restructuring processes, and the improvement and renewal of ideological activity, which are taking place in the socialist countries. Instructions have been given to Soviet ideological institutions to implement the joint decisions adopted.

The Politburo approved the results of Comrade Yakovlev's friendly visit to the People's Republic of Mongolia, during which a program for deepening cooperation between the CPSU and the MPRP in the field of ideology, culture, science and education was signed. This will undoubtedly serve the further development of comprehensive relations between the two fraternal parties and peoples.

The session discussed information about the results of Comrade Nikonov's working visit to the People's Republic of Bulgaria. It was decided to adopt additional measures aimed at invigorating bilateral Soviet-Bulgarian cooperation in the main areas of the agro-industrial sphere and removing obstacles to the use of the considerable reserves contained in this sphere.

Comrade Yazov's report on his meeting with U.S. Defense Secretary Carlucci on 16-17 March in Bern was heard. It was noted that the meeting between the Soviet and U.S. defense ministers, as a sign of positive improvements in Soviet-U.S. relations, has become another useful step in the same direction.

Having considered the results of Comrade Maslyukov's visit to India, the Politburo approved his talks with Rajiv Gandhi and other Indian leaders. It was stated with satisfaction that the talks serve to further deepen and develop Soviet-Indian cooperation in various fields.

The Politburo heard Comrade Talyzin report on his talks with the Vietnamese leaders during the Soviet party and government delegation's visit there for the funeral of Pham Hung.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo also discussed other questions concerning party and state building.

Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Dissolves Committee
LD251457 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
0715 GMT 25 Mar 88

[Numbering as heard]

[Text] At the Presidium of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet:

On 24 March a meeting of the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the republic was held by its chairman, Comrade Tataliyev. The question of the appeals by the union republics over events in Nagorno-Karabakh, Azerbaijan SSR and Armenia SSR, and duties concerning the fulfillment of the resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, were discussed. Comrade Tataliyev gave information about the meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium held on 23 March. During the discussion of envisaged questions, Aslanov, (Ananov), Kadyrov, Dzhamalova, Mustafayev, Sokolov, Tagiyev, [name indistinct] and Yusufova, members of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; Rustam-Zade, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet; and Kadiyeva, secretary of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium read reports.

At the meeting of the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the republic, Comrade Kyamran Bagirov, Communist Party first secretary of the Azerbaijan Central Committee, read a report.

The Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has adopted a decision on this question. The decision will be published in the press.

The Presidium of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet adopted decrees on [word indistinct] confirmation of holding the gatherings, meetings [word indistinct] and demonstrations (?peacefully), and on responsibility concerning the established (?form) for holding gatherings, meetings, (?rallies), and demonstrations in a friendly way.

Resolution of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on measures concerning the appeals of the union republics on events in Nagorno-Karabakh, Azerbaijan SSR and Armenia SSR, and on duties concerning the fulfillment of the resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium:

1. Appeals of the presidiums of the supreme soviets of the RSFSR, the Ukrainian, Belorussian, Uzbek, Kazakh, Georgian, Lithuanian, Moldavian, Latvian, Kirghiz,

Tajik, Turkmen, and Estonian SSR's have reached the Presidium of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet. These appeals state that workers in the fraternal republics are deeply worried and anxious over the situation that has come about in Azerbaijan SSR and Armenia SSR in connection with events in Nagorno-Karabakh. The Presidium of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet expresses its sincere gratitude for the fraternal solidarity of the presidiums of the supreme soviets of the union republics. This [word indistinct] proves the cohesion of Soviet peoples and [words indistinct] and that serious anxiety has come about after the events, unprecedented in the whole history of national relations in the USSR.

On 23 March, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium examined the measures concerning the appeals of the union republics on events in Nagorno-Karabakh, Azerbaijan SSR, and Armenia SSR and adopted the (?relevant) decisions. The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet [words indistinct] on (?pressuring) the state ruling bodies [words indistinct] for changing national state boundaries established by the USSR Constitution [words indistinct], because these may further (?worsen) the situation and lead to (?unpredictable) conclusions.

The Presidium of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet has [word indistinct] about the anxiety of the presidiums of the supreme soviets of the union republics about the [word indistinct] situation in Azerbaijan SSR and Armenia SSR connected with events in Nagorno-Karabakh and completely (?agrees) that this harms peoples of both republics and generally [word indistinct] further strengthening of friendship among peoples of the USSR.

The Presidium of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet resolutely (?condemns) the criminal actions allowed by individuals and groups that resulted in human casualties. Workers in the republic [word indistinct] know that the (?criminals) will be brought to serious administrative responsibility and to criminal responsibility and will receive the necessary punishment.

The Presidium of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet decrees:

1. [Words indistinct] on measures concerning the appeals of the union republics on events in Nagorno-Karabakh, Azerbaijan SSR and Armenia SSR, and on decision of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet [words indistinct].

2. The Presidium of the Nakhchivan ASSR Supreme Soviet, executive committee of the people's deputies of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, and executive committees of rayon and city soviets of the republic are taking necessary measures to create social security everywhere, protect [word indistinct] of the population, [word indistinct] (?enforcing) socialist legality and securing rights and interests of citizens (?in the light) of the

resolution of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on measures concerning appeals of the union republics on events in Nagorno-Karabakh, Azerbaijan SSR and Armenia SSR.

In work collectives of all establishments, departments, and organizations and in (?educational) establishments conditions of [word indistinct] be created. By using the rights given to (?soviets), all actions and phenomena that harm the cohesion and (?unity) of peoples be resolutely eliminated. Resistance be shown resolutely to every phenomenon of nationalism and extremism. Those who by their actions violate the stabilization of the situation and intend to harm the friendship and cooperation of peoples be brought to serious responsibility. Deputies of soviets, [word indistinct] together with party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations must decisively carry out (?socialist) political work and must create among the population the nature of the principles of Leninist national policy and necessity for respecting the national (?identity) of citizens. Conditions of [words indistinct] be created in every establishment, every organization, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, departments, educational establishments, and all work collectives.

Workers of all nationalities and peoples must be mobilized to fulfill the duties of revolutionary changes implemented in accordance with resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the later plenums of the CPSU Central Committee.

3. The Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet prepare a complex of measures within 10 days for solving questions of [words indistinct] economic, social, and cultural development of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and [word indistinct] of the republic and adopt the relevant decision. Ministries of the Azerbaijan SSR and state committees and head departments secure the observance of state and [word indistinct] order in establishments and organizations under them [words indistinct]

4. Taking into account the fact that the so-called Krunk Association, created in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, has been assuming functions not appropriate to it, that its activities essentially contradict the goals of communist construction and the principles of socialist internationalism, and that it has been inciting the population to mass disturbances, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan SSR resolves that this association, the bodies that lead it, its committee, and the council are dissolved, and that the prosecuting officials ensure the urgent implementation of the present resolution and not allow illegal activities of any kind by self-styled organizations.

5. To secure the [word indistinct] rules, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the republic's prosecuting officials take [words indistinct] measures in accordance with the law against people who act against society, (?create) provocations, and calling on people not to abide by the legal requirements of the ruling bodies.

It must be pointed out that the USSR Prosecutor's Office is carrying out a comprehensive investigation of crimes committed during the [word indistinct] in (?Apscheron).

6. It is an (?urgent) requirement to accept the decrees of the Presidium of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet on rules of organizing gatherings, meetings, rallies, and demonstrations and violating [word indistinct] the established rule concerning organizing gatherings, meetings, [word indistinct] and demonstrations.

7. Proposals be sent to the Presidium of the Armenia SSR Supreme Soviet on implementing measures in the field of strengthening socialist legality and social security, securing protection of legal interests of citizens of all nationalities, and strengthening friendship and cooperation of fraternal Soviet peoples. Mass media be instructed to strengthen the idea of friendship and brotherhood of Soviet peoples by all means and to expose actively every [word indistinct] who are attempting to incite national hostility and to (?violate) the rights and interests of various nationalities and peoples living in the republic.

[Signed] Tatliyev, chairman of the Presidium of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet

Kadiyeva, secretary of the Presidium of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet

City of Baku, 24 March 1988

Further Reportage on Nagorno-Karabakh Events

More on Ethnographers

LD250253 Moscow in English to North America
2300 GMT 24 Mar 88

[Text] Nagorno-Karabakh was the main issue discussed at a news conference by Soviet scholars for local and foreign journalists here in Moscow just devoted to relations between various ethnic groups.

Ethnographer (?Solomon Brook) told the news conference that the nationalities question had become one of the most crucial ones lately. Before the developments in Nagorno-Karabakh there were various actions by the Crimean Tatars in Moscow, disturbances in the Baltic republics, and the capital of the central Asian republic of Kazakhstan, Alma-Ata. (?Solomon Brook) believes the main reason for this is that the previous leadership ignored problems in ethnic relations, which piled up for decades.

[Begin (Brook) recording in Russian, fading into English translation] We kept saying that nationalities question in this country had been solved. According to this logic, once a question has been settled it no longer deserves any

attention, and so we ignored the problems of ethnic minorities. Social justice in relation to the culture and language of some ethnic groups were violated. [end recording]

However, Professor of Geography Sergey Arutyunov believes that a revision of borders between republics wouldn't solve ethnic problems. The Soviet Union in the twenties reconsidered this ethnic and territorial division, for instance Nagorno-Karabakh with a predominantly Armenian population became part of Azerbaijan in 1923. Sergey Arutyunov, an ethnic Armenian, sees the solution of Nagorno-Karabakh's problems in higher rates of social and economic development.

[Begin Arutyunov recording in Russian, fading into English translation] In Azerbaijan's capital Baku there are more Armenians than in Nagorno-Karabakh. The main goal is to make Armenians in any area feel themselves full-fledged citizens, having equal opportunities in terms of education and welfare. If we start changing borders, what shall we do about other ethnic groups? In Latvia half of the population are Russians, and in Kazakhstan the Kazakhs are now in the minority. [end recording]

Ethnographer Yuriy [as heard] Bromley believes that the inadequate economic development of Nagorno-Karabakh, compared to other areas in Azerbaijan, and the abuse of the ethnic rights of Armenians are the main reason why the Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh have demanded their reunification with Armenia. A course in the history of the Armenian people at Armenian schools in that autonomous area was abolished. Even questions of cultural ties with neighboring Armenia were decided by Azerbaijanian authorities. All this resulted in ethnic differences. In the Azerbaijanian city of Sumgait over the past few days 32 people have been killed and more than 100 injured. Most of the victims were Armenians.

Soviet scholars were unanimous that there was only one way of describing the hostilities in Sumgait: nationalism. Yuriy Bromley again:

[Begin Bromley recording in Russian, fading into English translation] There were many more Azerbaijanians protecting Armenians from some of their fellow countrymen. I believe that a group of extremists sought to use the situation in Sumgait in their own interests. Is there any other explanation of the fact that in Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan, where there are 160,000 Armenians, that is more than Sumgait, there have been no disturbances? Besides other things that divide Azerbaijanians and Armenians, there are centuries old religious traditions. The prevailing religion in Armenia is Christianity, whereas the Azerbaijanians profess Islam. [end recording]

Asked about the role of the church in the conflict, Prof Sergey Arutyunov noted the peaceful attitude of both the Muslim and the Christian Church, which urged their

congregations to refrain from bloodshed and settle all disputes peacefully. Prof Arutyunov said in that case there were no connections between the nationalities question and the difference in religion.

The journalists were told that it would take time to find a solution to the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh. There was a shortage of authoritative experts on the nationalities question because the Soviet Union hadn't an organization in charge of ethnic relations since 1936. The Soviet scholars announced that special committees were being set up at government bodies and nongovernmental organizations to ensure the rights of ethnic minorities and adequate representation in all governing bodies and other institutions. At the news conference it was confirmed that the nationalities question will be the main issue discussed at the next full-scale meeting of the Communist Party Central Committee.

PRAVDA Correspondent Suspended

PM251345 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Mar 88
Second Edition p 8

[PRAVDA Editorial Office Statement: "Who Has Violated Journalistic Ethics? Concerning Yu. Arakelyan's Note"]

[Text] The editorial office of PRAVDA has received a service note from our correspondent in the Armenian SSR, Yu. Arakelyan, in which he dissociates himself from the article, "Emotions and Reason," published on 21 March of this year, accuses the editorial office of violating the ethics of journalism, and writes that he did not see the galley proofs, and consequently, the content, of the article attributed to him.

We have discovered that Yu. Arakelyan's service note, which was transmitted by telephone, has been copied and is circulating in Yerevan. It has also found its way into the possession of certain Western correspondents accredited in our country.

"In this connection, we consider it necessary to make the following statement. Together with other comrades, Yu. Arakelyan collected material for the article between 23 February and 11 March of this year in the Armenian SSR and filed that material. From 11 to 17 March he was in Moscow and prepared the article for publication with other journalists. He made a number of suggestions which were taken into account. The editorial office is in possession of the originals of the suggestions and of the corrected proofs of the article, done by Yu. Arakelyan in his own hand.

"On the morning of 21 March, the editorial office had a telephone conversation with Yu. Arakelyan, in which he did not dissociate himself from the article, but merely told us about the initial reactions in Yerevan to its publication. The text of the service note mentioned above reached the editorial office in the evening.

"Yu. Arakelyan's conduct obliges the editorial office to suspend his authority to act as PRAVDA correspondent in the Armenian SSR pending his explanation of the affair at a session of the paper's editorial board."

Sakharov Writes to Gorbachev

LD251055 Hamburg DPA in German 0934 GMT
25 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—Soviet human rights campaigner and Nobel Prize winner Andrey Sakharov, in a letter to CPSU General Secretary Mikhail S. Gorbachev, has written in support of the rights of the Armenians. In the letter to the Kremlin chief, sent on Monday, Sakharov criticizes the fact that the policy of "glasnost" was being suppressed and that "maneuvers and attempts at persuasion" had been deployed. This was stated by Sakharov to DPA by telephone on Friday. In his letter he at the same time proposes that the Armenian demands should be examined within the framework of the constitution.

Sakharov added that the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh may be even worse than in Yerevan. He had information that Azerbaijani militiamen are being deployed on a larger scale in that area, where Armenians make up the majority. The information, however, still needs confirmation. According to Sergey Grigoryants, chief editor of the unofficial publication GLASNOST, 15,000 Azerbaijani militiamen are now in Nagorno-Karabakh.

In his letter to Gorbachev, Sakharov writes: "It must unfortunately be stated that not for the first time, glasnost is being suppressed in a tense situation. Precisely when it is especially needed... At the same time, reports which fail to give a complete picture of the story are appearing in the press and on television. The legitimate requests of the Armenian population have been described as extremist. A negative response has been, so to speak, pre-determined."

The Armenian people had hoped for a constitutional solution of the Nagorno-Karabakh issue within the framework of Gorbachev's policy, Sakharov added. The decision by the Nagorno-Karabakh regional Soviet to annex the region to Armenia should be discussed by the supreme soviets of Azerbaijan and Armenia. In the event of no agreement being reached, the Supreme Soviet (USSR Parliament) should tackle the issue. Sakharov unequivocally supports a peaceful solution to the problems.

In a second letter to Gorbachev, Sakharov demands the free return of the Crimean Tatars to the Crimea. They should receive rights in registering with the police, price reductions for buying houses, special credit, and help in finding jobs.

Armenian Nationalist Arrested

AU251116 Paris AFP in English 1105 GMT
25 Mar 88

[Excerpt] Moscow, March 25 (AFP)—A leading Armenian nationalist was arrested overnight Thursday in the Armenian capital of Yerevan, a dissident source told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE Friday. The dissident, Aleksandr Ogorodnikov, who publishes the CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY BULLETIN, did not elaborate, as his telephone call was abruptly cut off.

The Armenian nationalist, Paruir Airikyan, was detained here Tuesday and sent back to Armenia. He had told foreign correspondents about the situation in Central Asia Tuesday, and two days later telephoned them to say that the Soviet Army had boosted its presence in Yerevan.

Meanwhile, the Communist Party daily PRAVDA said Friday it had suspended its correspondent in Armenia after he disclaimed an article under his name that rejected the return of Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia. [passage omitted]

Yerevan Reported Calm

AU251335 Paris AFP in English 1327 GMT
25 Mar 88

[Excerpts] Moscow, March 25 (AFP)—Soviet authorities arrested a leading Armenian nationalist, a dissident source said Friday, as Moscow pressed an apparent carrot-and-stick campaign to tame the persistent unrest in the country's south. [passage omitted]

The arrest of Paruir Airikyan Thursday was reported by dissident Alexander Ogorodnikov, who publishes the CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY BULLETIN. He did not have the chance to elaborate as his telephone call to AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE here was abruptly cut short. Calls to other dissidents in Moscow or Yerevan were also cut off after just a few seconds.

But Igor Muradyan, a militant nationalist, reported before his line was cut that Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh had launched a strike, although he did not give the date. He said the Soviets still kept large contingents of troops in Nagorno-Karabakh and Yerevan, the scene of recent nationalist protests and clashes. The situation in the Armenian capital was calm. Mr. Muradyan said, but nationalist leaders felt it wise to call off street protests scheduled there for Saturday.

Armenian authorities published new regulations on Wednesday which required organizers of demonstrations to give 10 days' notice.

The Armenian daily KOMMUNIST, in its Wednesday edition which reached Moscow on Friday, urged efforts to "neutralize" the nationalist Karabakh Committee. It

said the planned protest on Saturday would have "unforeseen consequences." KOMMUNIST also reported that 2,364 Armenians had fled to Armenia from the Azerbaijani town of Sumgait, the scene of a massacre last month that produced an official toll of 32 people dead and nearly 200 wounded. [passage omitted]

Intellectuals Issue Appeal

LD242206 Moscow In English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 24 Mar 88

[Text] A group of intellectuals has made an appeal in connection with the events around Nagorno-Karabakh. The appeal is carried in the SOVETSKAYA KULTURA daily.

We who represent Soviet intellectuals are extremely concerned over the outbreak of ethnic discord in Transcaucasus, the appeal says. What is happening there sows the seeds of enmity which might bear the horrible fruit of hostility and disunity. Particularly great is the danger of using ethnic traditions and religious festivities in the endeavors to further kindle extremist sentiment and passion.

The authors of the appeal express confidence that all this can only play into the hands of those who oppose the restructuring under way in the Soviet Union. They urge all their countrymen, all sober-minded people in Azerbaijan and Armenia, including intellectuals and the clergy, to do all they can to normalize the situation. Under the circumstances it is imperative to resolutely counteract the nationalists who are seeking to destabilize life and prevent society from following the path of democratization and progress.

Those who signed the appeal include people from different Soviet nationalities and occupations, such as prominent writers Arseniy Rakovskiy, Fazil Iskander, Ales Adamovich, and many others, who are represented throughout the country.

Other Intellectuals Appeal

LD251351 Moscow TASS in English 1333 GMT 25 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 25 TASS—Alarm over the events in Armenia and Azerbaijan was expressed in an open letter by representatives of the Soviet creative intelligentsia, published by the newspaper IZVESTIYA today. It was signed by literary scholar Sergey Averintsev, literary critic Vyacheslav Ivanov, writer Veniamin Kaverin and actor Mikhail Ulyanov.

"We were astonished by the bloodshed in recent weeks," they write. "We know that both children and women have suffered. It is quite possible that what has been published and the rumours, prompted in part by inaccurate reporting, contained distorted truth and even lies. Today we all need to learn not to carp at obvious mistakes and crimes, not to increase their number."

"Every one of us, Russian intellectuals, addressing you Armenians and Azerbaijanis, takes to heart the pain which we share with you," the letter says further. "It is no time now to look for the culprits in history, to disentangle a complex chain of causes and consequences. There will be time for this. The main thing is not to give in to the tempting possibility of exacerbating the situation even further, because it is fraught with a new disaster."

Noting that the ethnic differences, exacerbated by the religious ones, make themselves felt in our age all too often, the authors of the letter urge to stop and think over the fact that love to one's people should make one love and respect his neighbours, that one's own faith must not call for enmity to the adherents of a different faith.

"We Russians do not disclaim the responsibility for the heavy burden left to us in legacy and by the Russian Empire, which sometimes deliberately aggravated the mutual strife between the nations populating it," the letter runs. "We are also aware of all the guilt of the Stalinist and consequent years: lip service to the friendship of peoples sometimes concealed growing conflicts which were suppressed and became even more acute..."

"We want to assure you that all these days we are thinking of you and of the difficulties which you and your people are going through. These are our difficulties as well. Without resorting to violence at all, we need to try to discuss and find a way out of the chaos of the past few weeks," the authors of the letter write.

Official Outlines Karabakh Development Program *PM251329 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 3*

[Interview with V.P. Lakutin, first deputy chairman of USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Social Development, by unnamed IZVESTIYA correspondent: "Nagorno-Karabakh: Development Program"; date and place not given—first two paragraphs are IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] Today Soviet people are watching events surrounding Nagorno-Karabakh with alarm and hope. With alarm because unfortunately emotions in the conflict still have the upper hand over reason, and that is always dangerous. With hope because there is every possibility of resolving the conflict while taking into account the interests of both the Armenian and Azerbaijani peoples and the interests of the entire country.

The party Central Committee and the country's government are engaged in a quest for paths in this direction. A group of senior officials of the USSR Council of Ministers and USSR Gosplan and leaders of a number of ministries and departments, including V.P. Lakutin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers

Bureau for Social Development, recently traveled to the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. Today he answers questions from an IZVESTIYA correspondent.

[Correspondent] Vladimir Petrovich, you visited Nagorno-Karabakh a few days after us, members of a group of correspondents from central newspapers. We journalists have already been able to share some of our observations with readers. What is your impression of the situation inside and surrounding the NKAO?

[Lakhtin] The main point is that the situation remains tense, in my view. And this is the biggest obstacle to a sober study of the problem and a solution of it in the common good.

[Correspondent] So is that also an obstacle to your mission there in Nagorno-Karabakh? What specifically was your mission?

[Lakhtin] We studied the situation in order to help formulate a program for the economic and social development of the NKAO and an improvement in its population's living standards. In other words, a program designed to satisfy the interests and demands put forward by the oblast's working people in the course of the campaign that developed there for a change in the NKAO's status.

[Correspondent] The matter of whether changes in status are capable of leading to the desired changes in life is a separate issue. What I wanted to ask you is this. BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY recently published a long "roundtable" feature in which many scientists took part. The idea behind the piece was to demonstrate that the NKAO is one of the most prosperous regions of the republic. Don't you think that such conclusions are one-sided?

[Lakhtin] These conclusions are based on precise data. For instance, in terms of housing provision the NKAO is 40 percent better off than the average for the rest of Azerbaijan. There are also other indicators in terms of which the situation in the oblast is better than that in either union republic.

[Correspondent] So why then was the socioeconomic development program for whose sake you visited the place also necessary? In order to create even more advantages?

[Lakhtin] Two factors should be borne in mind here. The first is that, along with the achievements in the social sphere noted earlier, there are also a number of omissions in the oblast. There are considerable difficulties with water supply. The network of hard-surfaced roads is less well developed than the average for the republic. The cultural sphere is lagging behind. For instance, a sports center has been under construction for over 9 years in Stepanakert. The oblast center still does not have a

Young Pioneer center. Or take the oblast's biggest enterprise—the silk combine in Stepanakert, which I visited. It gives the impression of being ownerless. The local comrades told us a good deal about the exceptional order that reigned in the city during the round-the-clock demonstrations. They said that even food for the demonstrators was superbly organized. But the situation with regard to food for the workers at the combine is quite appalling. And that is just one instance of inattention toward human needs.

The second factor is the fact that, if the omissions have to be rectified, then we must develop the existing advantages and not stop at what has been achieved. Therefore the NKAO development program provides for a 40-percent increase in the commissioning of housing in the oblast in the next 5-year plan. As a result, each family there will have a separate apartment or an individual house by the year 2000. The provision of housing in the oblast will reach 20 square meters per resident—which is higher than in the country as a whole and considerably more than in Azerbaijan and Armenia.

[Correspondent] Were there any complexities in the work on the program?

[Lakhtin] In general, no, for the requirements have, in my opinion, been correctly defined, and the finances and resources have been allocated in full accordance with this. But I believe it is, nonetheless, necessary to speak of one complexity—probably the only one—in this matter. It is, surprisingly, the stand taken by the oblast leadership. Primarily the party leadership headed by G. Pogosyan, the new first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Obkom, which does not consider these questions to be the chief ones.

In what way does this stand appear incorrect to me personally? Even given the present supply of housing, which on average is not bad, there are many people in the oblast who need better housing conditions.

[Correspondent] What is the program like? What does it give people?

[Lakhtin] The program provides for a package of measures to strengthen the material and technical base of the social sphere and accelerate the development of the oblast's productive forces and infrastructure. I have already spoken of housing construction. In addition, it is planned to construct in Stepanakert an 850-seat cultural center, a 400-bed oblast hospital, a medical center to handle 600 visits per shift, a Young Pioneer center, and a city library, as well as 9 or 10 general educational schools in order to make the switch to mainly single-shift teaching in the next few years.

One of Nagorno-Karabakh's problems today is the inadequate number of enterprises where young people, on graduating from school, can become established and organize their life. This results in a considerable outflow

of young, healthy forces from their birthplace. Therefore the program provides both for the enlargement, modernization, and retooling of existing enterprises and for the construction of more than 10 branches in the oblast. In addition, 14 capacities will be created for the production of cheeses, meat, sausages, and preserves.

To improve the water supply to Stepanakert and Nagorno-Karabakh's rayon centers, two large reservoirs will be constructed and the scale of water resource construction will be increased. The volume of further construction of the road network is to increase 50-100 percent. It is planned extensively to lay on gas supplies to settlements and cities in the oblast by constructing gas pipelines. The construction industry's capacities are already being built up at an accelerated pace.

All these measures require considerable capital investments—up to R400 million. They will exceed the plan already this year.

[Correspondent] We are speaking of the material sphere. And yet in their demands many inhabitants of the NKAO place no less and perhaps even greater emphasis on the spiritual factor, on the establishment of broader, closer, and freer ties with Armenia.

[Lakhtin] Let us start with the free nature of these ties. There can and must be no restrictions here.

If we turn to the program, it takes account of the Armenian population's wishes and includes points such as ensuring that the population of Nagorno-Karabakh and of the rayons of Azerbaijan and Armenia adjacent to it are assured of good-quality reception of three television channels, including the Armenian republican channel; working to restore and reconstruct historical and cultural monuments on NKAO territory, involving Armenian masters of restoration in this work; expanding the printing base so as to increase production of artistic and educational literature in the Armenian language.

A special point in the program relates to work in schools teaching in Armenian. It is proposed from this year to allocate places in VUZ's in the Armenian SSR for the targeted admission and training of young people from the NKAO.

I have cited just a few points. I think that the program can be extended, if life demands it. But on the whole I believe that the planned measures are a kind of linchpin of restructuring in the NKAO, in all the basic spheres of its life.

[Correspondent] The granting of greater scope for initiative and independence to local organs of power is an important part of restructuring locally. There was repeated discussion of this when we journalists were in Nagorno-Karabakh.

[Lakhtin] During our trip as well. These are questions long overdue for attention. It is time they were resolved. But they are outside our powers and our program.

But, to return to the program, it is of not only economic but also great political significance. People must clearly see the watershed between the demagoguery of certain persons and the real, practical activity of the party and the state, which show concern for the people's vitally important interests. [Lakhtin ends]

I believe the following must be added to what has been said. When this interview was being prepared, the writer Z. Balayan came to the editorial office. Not by chance but in connection with a recent IZVESTIYA article which said that he doubts the effectiveness of the program being drawn up for the NKAO's socioeconomic development.

In this regard Z. Balayan asked for the following elucidation to be published:

"When I said that there is no going back, I was referring to the impossibility of continuing to use the former methods. As was correctly stated at a conference at the CPSU Central Committee, it is necessary concertedly to resolve current questions relating to socioeconomic, domestic, scientific, cultural, linguistic, and other aspects of relations between the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's on the basis of the Leninist principles of internationalism.

"I believe that the program described above can be a principled step in this direction."

From the editors: On 24 March the party leadership examined and approved this program.

Karabakh Party Chief Pogosyan Interviewed
PM241425 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian
3 Mar 88 p 1

[Interview with G.A. Pogosyan, first secretary of the Nagorno-Karabakh Azerbaijan Communist Party Obkom, by own correspondent G. Pogosov: "Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast: Time for Reason and Sober Decisions"; no date of interview given; first paragraph is BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY introduction]

[Text] Stepanakert—Yesterday our own correspondent met with Genrikh Andreyevich Pogosyan, first secretary of the Nagorno-Karabakh Azerbaijan Communist Party Obkom, and asked him to answer the editorial board's questions.

[Pogosov] How have the Communists and working people reacted to the CPSU Central Committee general secretary's Appeal to the working people and the peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia?

[Pogosyan] With understanding and a feeling of gratitude. M.S. Gorbachev's Appeal is a convincing testimony of the most constant attention, profound concern, and sincere interest in resolving the basic socioeconomic problems which have arisen in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast's development. We entirely share the view that a considered and democratic approach to resolving these questions is essential.

The Appeal clearly shows that new approaches and new guidelines are needed in overcoming the growth difficulties. And a calm and businesslike atmosphere should be firmly established in the oblast for this. The main concern, as M.S. Gorbachev's appeal says, is to demonstrate civic maturity and tenacity, and return to normal life.

The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh is returning to normal.

The process of normalization is difficult, and it is not the same in all enterprises. But people are joining in the labor process. A number of industrial enterprises are keeping pace with the plan. Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast kolkhozes and sovkhozes are commencing the springtime field work. The pace is increasing in livestock units. Transport, municipal enterprises, and all essential services were already working normally.

Nagorno-Karabakh is multinational in its makeup. In the oblast Armenians and Azerbaijanis, Russians and Ukrainians, Georgians and Belorussians live side by side. Of course, there are unresolved problems in our life. But it is a mistake to think that capital can be made by making much of them. Today it is important to prevent individual people from playing on this. Democracy should not be understood in a one-sided way, separating rights from duties. This is detrimental to society's socioeconomic development and peoples' friendship.

I would like to note that the former party obkom leadership is to blame for the artificial difficulties created concerning cultural exchange, the provision of artistic literature and school textbooks in our native language, and other aspects of the many-sided and traditional ties among the working people of Nagorno-Karabakh and fraternal Armenia. These problems could and should have been resolved promptly.

[Pogosov] What measures are being taken to further normalize the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast?

[Pogosyan] We realize that now the main concern is ideological, propaganda, and explanatory work in working collectives, sovkhozes and kolkhozes, and educational institutions. It is very important for every one of the oblast's inhabitants to be profoundly aware of the extreme clarity and precision of the CPSU Central Committee position, for everyone personally to be aware

that the time has come for reasonable and sober decisions and ensure that the feeling of civic duty and for responsibility for the unity and cohesion of our multinational state takes priority.

The industrial enterprises of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast are connected by close economic bonds with many of the country's related enterprises. In conditions of economic accountability every hour lost is a loss not only for every working man in the autonomous oblast, but also for our partners in the country's various regions.

The party obkom is convinced that the difficulties will be overcome and that party, soviet, trade union, economic, and Komsomol organs will do everything to ensure that the oblast's economic and political life is completely stabilized, lost ground is made up, and everyone's contract commitments are fulfilled.

We assign the party aktiv and primary party organizations the primary role not only in implementing social and production tasks but also in forming a sober attitude to the contemporary situation. The CPSU Central Committee's willingness to examine the whole package of socioeconomic problems in the development of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast is one more testimony to the wisdom of the Leninist nationality policy. I can say with all certainty: Everyone has now come to realize that today the main concern, as M.S. Gorbachev's Appeal noted, is to concentrate on resolving specific economic and social tasks in the spirit of restructuring and renewal.

Academician Bromley Outlines Nationality Issues
PM251423 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian
No 13, 26 Mar-1 Apr 88 (Signed to Press 24 Mar 88) p 6

[Unattributed report: "At the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center"— boldface as published]

[Text] A meeting between scientists from the USSR Academy of Sciences Ethnography Institute and journalists on the subject "On Topical Problems of Nationality Relations in the USSR" was held in the USSR Foreign Ministry Press center. The meeting was addressed by Institute Director Academician Yu.V. Bromley.

Measures to bring the living standards of all nationalities in the USSR up to the same level have been taken through the years since the moment when the equality of all peoples was proclaimed. Some of these peoples accomplished a leap from a primitive, communal system to socialism, and this was done largely with the help of other nations and the introduction of certain privileges for the more backward ones. Successes in the development of culture and the economy could not have failed to

generate a sense of legitimate national pride and greater national awareness which, while essentially positive phenomena, could provide breeding ground for nationalism.

The whole of social life is projected into the sphere of nationality relations, and therefore the shortcomings in our society's development could not have failed to affect them. These shortcomings included the premature proclamation that there are no problems as regards the nationalities question, the breaches of socialist justice toward certain nations during and after the war, the excessive centralization in the solution of all questions which wounded national pride, and the concurrent exploitation of national origins to obtain privileges.

According to the institute's data, there are up to 120 ethnic groups living in the USSR, with 55 million persons either living outside the boundaries of their corresponding national state formations or not belonging to any such formation at all. This is why nationality relations must be perceived not only as relations between republics, but also as relations between individuals. The solution to the problems must be sought primarily in the economic development of all regions and the creation of identical conditions for the development of all ethnic groups living in different republics.

Solovyev Attends Leningrad Soviet Session

PM241541 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Mar 88
Morning Edition p2

[TASS report: "Leningrad's Cultural Potential"]

[Excerpts] Leningrad, 19 Mar—Everyone living in Leningrad was given the opportunity to take part in preparations for the Leningrad Soviet session, which today discussed the problems of enhancing the role played by cultural and arts institutions in the development of the city's spiritual life. Hundreds of proposals and observations have been brought to the deputies' attention via the press, television, and radio. They reflect a burning interest in enhancing the creative and artistic potential of Leningrad, one of the world's major cultural centers. [passage omitted]

Yu.F. Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of Leningrad CPSU Obkom, took part in the session.

Biryukova Tbilisi Activities Detailed

PM241713 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian
15 Mar 88 p 1

[GRUZINFORM report: "CPSU Central Committee Secretary A.P. Biryukova's Stay in Tbilisi"]

[Text] A.P. Biryukova, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, arrived in the Georgian capital 14 March.

She was met at Tbilisi Airport by Comrades D.I. Patiashvili, V.I. Alavidze, G.A. Anchabadze, O.G. Vardzelashvili, P.G. Gilashvili, A.N. Inauri, K.A. Kochetov, B.V. Nikolskiy, O.Ye. Cherkeziya, N.A. Chitanava, N.R. Sadzhaya, and V.M. Siradze.

The firstling and flagship of Georgia's light industry—Tbilisi's "Sabchota Sakartvelo" Worsted and Cloth Combine—is on a path of intensive economic development. Having begun a radical restructuring of all spheres of its activity 2 years ago, the collective has achieved substantial positive changes. It has been transformed from a chronically loss-making enterprise into a profitable one. Last year, for example, the profit exceeded R5 million. Many social questions are being resolved simultaneously with economic problems.

A.P. Biryukova, CPSU Central Committee secretary, visited the "Sabchota Sakartvelo" Combine 14 March. She was accompanied by Comrades D.I. Patiashvili, V.I. Alavidze, G.A. Anchabadze, P.G. Gilashvili, and O.Ye. Cherkeziya; V.K. Makeyev, chief of a CPSU Central Committee sector; and I.G. Gritsenko, USSR deputy minister of light industry.

A.P. Biryukova familiarized herself with the work of the main production facilities and the textile workers' working and living conditions. In conversations with workers, specialists, and leaders of the enterprise attention was focused on the need to improve quality in every possible way, extend the range of products, and ensure that they are competitive on the world market. But still far from everything is well in this matter here. The enterprise's output lags considerably behind world standards. Much also must be done to improve working conditions and satisfy the production workers' everyday needs.

Combine Director M.F. Teniyeshvili spoke about the first steps of the restructuring being carried out at the enterprise to improve production and work under state acceptance conditions and to prepare for the switch to full economic accountability (khozraschet) and self-financing, and about the complexities and problems arising in this connection. One of them is, in particular, the problem of raw materials. The Shulaveri Primary Wool-Processing Factory is the largest of its suppliers. There are instances when a considerable amount of the incoming raw materials has to be rejected at the insistence of the state acceptance system—which affects the combine's work.

Hero of Socialist Labor V.B. Kemashvili, assistant foreman, entered the conversation. Like other working people at the combine, she is concerned about the inadequate pace of retooling. True, last year 87 units of equipment were replaced. New spinning, twisting, warping, and weaving machine tools and units have been installed. However, it has not been possible to fully

eliminate all "bottlenecks." A targeted retooling program entitled "Intensification-90" has been drawn up at the combine. To implement it it is extremely necessary to accelerate the allocation and delivery of the appropriate equipment.

During the conversations with the enterprise collective and leadership the growth of national textile worker cadres, who are the backbone of the enterprise's work force, the relatively high standard of production, and the modern range of output in demand among consumers were noted with satisfaction. At the same time, many problems at the enterprise need to be resolved on the spot, using its own resources. It is necessary, for example, to mechanize and automate certain technological operations and modernize existing equipment. The enterprise's engineer-innovators must say a weighty word here. It is necessary to expand in every possible way commercial and business ties with related enterprises and trading organizations.

Questions connected with the combine's social development got a special mention. The efforts of the enterprise management, party committee, and social organizations to strengthen the social base have produced good results. A catering combine, which provides working people with inexpensive and varied dishes, and a house kitchen are operating. A new club building was constructed recently, where approximately 30 circles and sections function. In addition to the working people themselves, their children also have the opportunity to attend. The consumer complex, which includes a hairdresser's, a food store, a footwear repair workshop, and so forth, has been completely renovated. However, the restructuring of work and acceleration, A.P. Biryukova emphasized, require the prompt resolution of everyday problems of concern to people. Take, for example, the housing question, which is acute here—several hundred families are on the books. While having the funds to construct an apartment block, the management is failing to resolve the question of starting its construction.

A.P. Biryukova also drew the combine leadership's attention to the need to make fuller and more concrete use of the rights granted by the Law on the State Enterprise (Association), which points, in particular, to the freedom to choose suppliers. It was pointed out that a more active search should be made for the optimum forms of organizing and encouraging labor.

After noting the collective's successful start this year, the CPSU Central Committee secretary dwelt on unutilized reserves. Thus, it is necessary to increase the loading of capacities to 94 percent by 1990, exclude all nonproductive losses, adopt a firm policy of switching all production facilities to the contract and economic accountability, ensure the production of output exclusively on the basis of local raw materials, and make the range of colors more varied. Under conditions of self-financing this will

produce more profit, and the collective will be able to accelerate the development of social spheres of life and satisfy more quickly all who need living space.

Eleven economically accountable collectives are now operating at the enterprise on the basis of specialized and comprehensive teams, with a total of more than 1,000 working people. Pay and bonuses are distributed here with regard to each person's coefficient of labor input. Thus, the basic production links themselves erect a barrier to slipshod work and disorganization and have an interest in improving labor efficiency and quality in every possible way.

...A cozy two-story detached building. It houses the enterprise's kindergarten, which approximately 200 children attend. Here there is everything the children need to grow up not only healthy but also comprehensively developed. A.P. Biryukova familiarized herself with the conditions in which the children are maintained and chatted with them and their parents and teachers.

In the evening the CPSU Central Committee secretary and the republic's leaders saw a performance of the show "The Autumn of Our Spring" at the Tbilisi State Puppet Theater.

Further on Visit

PM241445 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Mar 88
Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Visit to Georgian SSR"]

[Text] Tbilisi, 18 Mar—During her 14-18 March Georgia visit A.P. Biryukova, CPSU Central Committee secretary, focused her attention on the practical work of the republic's party, soviet, and economic organs to provide the population with goods and paid services. She went to the "Sabchota Sakartvelo" Worsted Cloth Combine, the "Isani," "Gldani," and "Elva" Production Associations, the G. Dimitrov Aviation Combine in Tbilisi, and the Silk Combine and the S.M. Kirov Sewn Goods Association in Kutaisi; she visited the republic national economy exhibition and Tbilisi's Fashion and Clothes Culture Center, a trade center in Tskhaltubo, and a number of other trade, consumer service, and public catering facilities, and she familiarized herself with the work of cooperatives.

Light industry accounts for almost two-thirds of all nonfood goods produced in Georgia. In the course of meetings and conversations with the sector's workers the CPSU Central Committee secretary noted definite changes for the better in the activity of labor collectives in connection with their transition to the principles of full economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing. At the same time it was stressed that there has not as yet been any radical restructuring of the work of the sector. Patently insufficient use is being made of the potential of the new economic mechanism and the rights granted by the USSR Law on the State Enterprise.

Attention was drawn to the need for in-depth knowledge of economic management methods, the need to organize enterprises' entire work on the basis of a thorough consideration of the population's demands and the market's requirements, and the need for a radical improvement in labor collectives' production and financial activity.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary indicated group "A" sector enterprises' inadequate contribution to the saturation of the market with goods and services. The task was set of increasing the production and substantially extending the range of consumer goods. Special attention was devoted to measures to boost the quality of consumer goods manufactured in the republic, which has remained low for many years.

During meetings with city inhabitants the conversation turned to the practical course of restructuring and how social questions are being resolved. The CPSU Central Committee secretary inquired about working people's working and living conditions and trade and medical services.

A.P. Biryukova addressed a meeting of the republic's party-economic aktiv dedicated to the tasks of party and soviet organs regarding increasing consumer goods production.

Flowers were laid at the V.I. Lenin memorial in the Georgian capital.

A.P. Biryukova was accompanied on her trip by D.I. Patiashvili, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, and O.Ye. Cherkeziya, chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers.

Dissident Priest Asks Patriarch To Step Down
AU250831 Paris AFP in English 2158 GMT
21 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, March 24 (AFP)—A dissident priest and five other militants on Thursday asked the aging patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church to stand down because he was "too infirm" to meet demands facing the church. "Your infirmities serve those who do not want to see a recovery of the church, society and government," Father Gleb Yakunin said in an open letter to Patriarch Pimen of Moscow and All Russia, which was presented to foreign correspondents here. Orthodox priests "should finally dare to say all that they think," the letter added. "It is paradoxical that it is not the church, but the government, which currently has the initiative in drawing believers into active participation in social life," it went on.

Father Yakunin was freed in April 1987, after serving eight years' exile in Siberia for openingly denouncing what he said was the persecution of Christians and for

charging senior church officials with being too ready to bow to the authorities. Last August, he was given a parish near Moscow after being banned from holy office for 21 years.

His letter to Patriarch Pimen, 77, comes shortly before a senior church gathering next Monday, which is expected to lay the groundwork for a Grand Synod on June 6, marking the 1,000th anniversary of the "baptism of Russia."

Father Yakunin said that despite a recent "thaw" in relations between the church and the state, the initiative for regeneration should come from within the Orthodox community. "The idea of 'perestroika' is no stranger to Christianity, and it is preferable to a schism" within the Church, Father Yakunin wrote. 'Perestroika' (restructuring) is a key concept in the economic and social reform policies introduced by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

Father Yakunin's letter said there had been improvements in the Church's situation, with the reopening of 16 church buildings in the past three months and a promise of 200 more to come by the summer. Bibles were getting through the post, he added, and unofficial religious education was no longer repressed.

On the other hand, Moscow baptists had recently witnessed the enforcement of a law banning them from voluntary hospital work, Father Yakunin said.

"The struggle is continuing at the heart of power," he warned.

'New Approaches' to Islam Urged in Uzbekistan
PM231635 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian
20 Mar 88 p 2

[Correspondent M. Alimov article under the rubric "We Study a Problem": "From Where Do They Come, the Submissive Ones? Why the Influence of Islam Is So Steady in the Life of Many Young People"]

[Text] Tashkent—I cannot forget an incident of which I was once told by a Komsomol worker in Groznyy. A guy from a small mountain village had died heroically in Afghanistan. The motherland marked his exploit with an Order of Lenin. Who do you think was the first to go to his home to express condolences to his relatives? Alas, not the Komsomol raykom secretary. And who spent all the difficult days of mourning in his home, sharing the bitterness of the untimely loss equally with his father and mother? Alas, again not a Komsomol worker.

So who did?

A mullah...

"We are losing out to religious figures in the most important thing—humanity," my acquaintance concluded bitterly at the time.

I listened to him and remembered. My grandfather had died. At age 100. A humble peasant, an indefatigable worker, he had labored all his life. He was, as he frequently joked, a "nonparty communist." But he believed piously in God. Every day he would pray assiduously, and he dreamed of making a pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina. When he was dying, he asked to be buried according to all the principles and laws of the Shari'a.

Well, it was decided to carry out the old man's will. A mullah was invited to the funeral. And then something strange happened. During the funeral some of the relatives... hid somewhere round a corner. The reason? They said: "We will be accused of participating in a religious rite when we have a party card in our pocket...."

And I remember feeling terribly hurt on my grandfather's behalf. Had he been a criminal? So why did not all his relatives pay their last respects to him? Recalling that sad story now and comparing it with the present day, this is what I think: Many absurd excesses and sometimes simply unconsidered steps have been perpetrated in our Uzbekistan in recent years in questions of antireligious propaganda. For it is a fact that you have only to "report" that you have seen someone at a funeral where there was a mullah, and he cannot escape unpleasantnesses. Understand me correctly, I am not talking about indulging people who follow religious rites. I am saying that it is naive, at the least, and sometimes even simply harmful to resolve a complex problem with prohibitions and reprimands alone.

For it is because of these very excesses that many cemeteries in the Central Asian republics are neglected today, if not entirely forgotten.... Not to mention the moral harm. It is tremendous, because people learn to be two-faced and duplicitous. It is no secret that religious rites have begun to be carried out on the quiet and in secret.

Oh, these excesses! I remember a former secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee at a very prestigious conference prohibiting the celebration of the ancient and traditional Now Ruz spring festival. The arguments? It is, it turns out, not our Soviet festival, but is, it is said, religious to the core. In what then, permit me to ask, does its religiousness consist? In the fact that during Now Ruz, girls wear their most beautiful costumes, while horsemen assiduously repair agricultural equipment which the elders then receive, and woe betide the guy who works lackadaisically—in this village he might not find himself a bride...?

And again—sad memories. I will never forget the funeral of Abdurakhim, editor of the Uzbek young pioneers' newspaper LENIN UCHKUNI, who died tragically. We could not believe that this splendid guy, a young Communist, was no longer with us.

And here we were at the cemetery. According to the custom, all the men squatted down as though by command and turned up their palms. What now? Would a mullah step forward and start reading chapters from the Koran? No. We were burying a communist. The poet Nariman Aripzhanov stepped up to the head of Abdurakhim's casket and declared the funeral meeting open. Many people spoke at that sorrowful hour.

The people who had come with us to the cemetery carried on squatting in dismay and did not know what to do, while the mullah was hiding to one side and waiting for us to finally leave. But we were in no hurry, and we left when we had paid full tribute to our friend's memory.

I believe it was not just a funeral. It was a battle—open and honest—against religious survivals. It taught a lot to all who were at the cemetery during those minutes. But this is what still rankles: Not a single Komsomol Central Committee secretary came to bury Abdurakhim. Each one found urgent things to do, and one, claiming an urgent call, drove away from the cemetery gates—probably just to be on the safe side....

And again I recall a Komsomol worker acquaintance from Chechen-Ingushetia. He would say striking things. It turns out that there are still no clubs at all in many villages in the republic. But there are mosques everywhere. And people build them themselves. On their own initiative, so to speak. And yet something else struck me most of all. It was said that no one would work a subbotnik until the mullah deigned to permit it.

Alas, it is not only in Chechen-Ingushetia that it is hard to be a propagandist of atheism today. A biology teacher from Tashkent Oblast's Bostanlykskiy Rayon once came to KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA's Tashkent correspondent's office. Talib Ruzmetovich Ruzmetov spoke of many things. Of the fact that for 30 years now he has been fighting survivals from the past in his home village of Koshkurgan. He has published more than 200 notes and articles on atheist work in the village school in various newspapers and journals. In them he called everything and everyone by their proper names. And now he hears behind his back: "Khudosiz"—"godless man..." If he slips on the ice—it is "God's punishment." If his wife or children fall ill, it is because there are lots of "godless books" in his house. All right. All these are trifles. Something else made Ruzmetov lose heart. He had collected very rich material for propaganda of atheist knowledge to assist teachers of history, physics, and literature, but instead of support he heard... reprimands. And from whom—from the school director! Further. He

staged the play "Put On the Evil Eye" with eighth-graders, but again the director banned it: He said it was a weak work which must not be shown to children. That too would have been all right, but the matter even reached the point where his 5-year-old daughter was shut out of the kindergarten: "Go home, there is no place here for children of people like your father...."

Of course, in the end people stood up for the teacher Ruzmetov. But did he find it any easier to carry out his propaganda activity? When I asked him about this recently, he only smiled a bitter smile....

...In Dushanbe I once heard that most of our believers are women. Incidentally, this situation obtains not only in Tajikistan but throughout Central Asia. And there is something behind this. For centuries Islam trampled on women's honor and dignity, allocating to them the role of an obedient, uncomplaining slave in the family and in society. And yet, let us recall that in the early thirties a "khudzhum"—an "offensive"—against survivals and a feudal-landowner attitude toward women swept over the Central Asian republics in a mighty wave. Millions of girls then exposed their face to the sun. But, clearly, we have rested content too early, believing the matter done. Here is just one fact, albeit a terrible one: Last year 270 women in Uzbekistan alone committed self-immolation.... Is it not the iron grip of Islam, which is so strong even today in everyday life and family life, that makes young women, brought to a state of despair by humiliation and insults, pour solar oil over themselves? How frequently a mother in an eastern family is put in a submissive position with regard to the man and is deprived of rights. But can a submissive woman really bring up an unsubmissive, fighting man?

And here is something else I think about: Perhaps one of the causes of the glaring deviations from Leninist and socialist norms and principles in Uzbekistan in recent years has been the fact that here children hear from their mother's lips day after day: "Submit to fate, and Allah will be pleased...."? And this is how they have grown up—generation after generation....

I will state frankly that when I shared this observation recently, during a meeting with the republic's young creative workers at the Uzbek Komsomol Central Committee, not all supported me. Some even rebuked me: "You are a bad Uzbek, a disgrace to your people...."

I love my people. I bow my head before their magnanimity and talent. A historical fact: My people warmed and caressed more than 200,000 war orphans during a bleak time.

But I remain resolutely convinced that the fact that my people permitted the rule of Rashidov and submissively carried out ill-intentioned orders is also the fault of Islam, that vehement preacher of submission to fate and to brute force....

And, finally, the last thing, about which I cannot keep quiet. More and more self-styled wise men have recently been appearing among us. Why? Because it is precisely Central Asia that has the highest birth rate indicator today. But there is a catastrophic shortage of children's medical centers, hospitals, and maternity homes. Uzbekistan alone now has a shortage of 5,000 pediatricians. And moms are turning to wise men. The consequence is high infant mortality....

No, I am not campaigning for the immediate eradication of Islam from our life, and, if you take a sober look at things, that is impossible at present, for Islam today is not only a way of thinking for a considerable number of people, but also a way of everyday life. But nor am I calling for account to be taken of just the "objective" situation. What is needed, above all, is a search for decisively new approaches to this undoubtedly painful problem. There is work here for everyone: scientists and party and Komsomol organs. Painstaking, purposeful, bold, and sometimes even unexpected work, and not noisy but, alas, muddle-headed occasional "campaigns"—this is what is resolutely needed today, now....

Kazakh Party Meets Media Representatives
LD221039 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Russian
1500 GMT 16 Mar 88

[Text] A meeting with representatives of the republic's mass media and central press, held on 16 March at the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee, was devoted to topical matters relating to the activity of the press, television, and radio in the second stage of restructuring in the light of the tasks set by the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum. Taking part were Comrade Kolbin, first secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee; Comrades Bashmakov, Dzhaniybekov, Kamalidenov, Kubashev, Meshcheryakov, Nazarbayev, and Urzhumov, members of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee Bureau.

The journalists were told of the situation in the main avenues along which work is being conducted by the republican party organization in implementing radical economic reform, the democratization of all spheres of life, and the plans of the 5-year period. Note was made of the great role of the mass media in accelerating social and economic development and in solving pressing problems.

Certain positive changes were cited in industry, the agro-industrial complex, the construction of housing and cultural and public amenities, improving the economic mechanism, the services sector, and overcoming negative manifestations. But much still remains to be done, and moreover, with the most active and creative participation of the press. Those working in the mass media should raise their ability, show the tasks being addressed by the party in all their complexity, not fall for a superficial assessment of events and facts, and provide

broader and more convincing dissemination of the advanced experience of restructuring. Newspapers, television, and radio are called upon to do more toward the full utilization of local reserves and possibilities, improving the work of educational establishments for internationalist and patriotic education, and to graphically cover the preparations under way in all places for the 19th all-union party conference.

Replies were given to questions raised by journalists concerning economic reform, its ideological provision, the improvement of the republic's management, the reduction of the administrative machinery of state establishments, the protection of the environment, blank spots in history, nationalities and international relations, the struggle with favoritism, the work of the law-enforcement organs, and the establishment of social justice.

Estonian Nationalist Demonstrations Described

DW251115 Bonn DIE WELT in German 25 Mar 88 p 8

[Carl Gustaf Stroehm article: "Demonstrations in Estonia Too"]

[Text] Vienna—While worldwide attention is focused on the Soviet republics of Armenia and Azerbaijan and on the Karabakh autonomous region, mass demonstrations have also taken place in the Baltic states.

In Tallinn (Reval), the Estonian capital, on 24 February—as has become known just now—about 8,000 people demonstrated in front of the monument to Anton Hansen Tammsaare, the Estonian national author. The demonstrators were commemorating the 70th anniversary of the independent republic of Estonia, which was occupied in 1940 by Soviet troops.

The demonstrators were surrounded by the KGB and militiamen, among them a special unit that acted in earlier demonstrations in Latvia and Lithuania. A few days before the demonstrations, which were not authorized officially, several school classes of 14-17-year-old children—an age group considered to be especially "nationalist" in Estonia—were sent on school excursions into the countryside. Police units that had come from other areas were lodged in the empty classrooms. Civil rights advocates and dissidents were temporarily put under house arrest to prevent their participation.

To the surprise of everyone, the concentrated police units did not become directly involved in the demonstrations. They limited their action to playing loud martial music over loudspeakers, obviously to drown out possible anti-Soviet slogans. When Ahto Vellamaa, the Communist Party secretary of the Estonian capital, "warned" the assembled crowd over the loudspeaker, he and other Communist Party functionaries were laughed at loudly and whistled at.

Eventually some "reformist" Communist Party functionaries succeeded in talking some 2,000 demonstrators into coming to the Estonian Opera House and the House of Political Education to have a discussion there with party functionaries. Mainly older people accepted that suggestion. In the two buildings, party functionaries were confronted with unusually courageous questions. It was asked why no opposition parties were permitted in the Estonian Soviet Republic—after Soviet authorities recently had acted sharply against the founding of an Estonian independence party. Mikk Titma, a communist sociologist considered a Gorbachev supporter, said he agrees in principle with the demonstrators that "opposition groups" are necessary.

To the demand of a demonstrator that Estonian should be given back its blue-black-white national flag, (the colors and other national emblems have been banned since the occupation), the communist spokesman responded that it could be "discussed peacefully." Other questions dealt with Russian workers in Estonia. The poet Raivo Raave accused the Estonian Communist Party leadership of not representing the national interests of the country and the people.

Other people asked in the discussion what Kaarel Vaino, the chief of the Estonian Communist Party, was doing all day long, and whether he was looking after Estonian interests. Communist Party sociologist Titma, the moderator at the discussion—which lasted 5 hours—warned the demonstrators not to ask "too much" of Moscow. "Otherwise there could be uncontrollable processes."

Swedish Weekly on Estonian National Sentiment

*PM231511 Stockholm NU in Swedish
17 Mar 88 pp 14-15*

[Andres Kung article: "The Forbidden Picture From Tallinn 24 February 1988"; the "picture" referred to in the title is an accompanying photograph which a caption describes as "a smuggled picture of the demonstration on Estonian Independence Day at which 20,000 people gathered in Tallinn"]

[Text] I often have noticed that the Baltic question is close to the hearts of the Swedish people. When I raised the subject of the Baltic freedom struggle on the Klarsprak [Straight Talk] program the other week, the program received more reactions from listeners than ever before—and almost all were positive. The Klarsprak debate on the Baltic states also grew into one of the most comprehensive in Swedish newspapers, and on Swedish radio and television, since the war—and it even enticed KGB veteran Nikolay Neylands to reply from Riga.

When I write my articles in NU, I notice the same thing. If I write about repression in distant parts of the world such as South America or South Africa there is seldom any reaction—other than, perhaps, that some Pan-African Congress supporter thinks that I wrote too uncritically about the African National Congress or that some

African National Congress supporter does not like the fact that I mentioned the Pan-African Congress at all. But if I write about the Baltic freedom struggle I receive both letters and telephone calls. This happened recently too, and a fairly common request was that I should write another account of what is really happening in Estonia.

This request was really quite justified, because it seems that—strangely enough—not a single Swedish journalist was in Estonia on Independence Day, 24 February. Other Western journalists were prevented from traveling to Estonia through excuses such as that there were no air or train tickets, hotel rooms, and so on. On Independence Day there also “happened to be” a fault on the telephone lines between Estonia and the rest of the world. Nevertheless, since then a fair amount of information has leaked out through the fairly rusty Iron Curtain.

The big demonstration in Tallinn was planned to begin in the evening. That afternoon a number of those who planned to lead the demonstration were arrested. Among those arrested were a number of the founders of the new Independence Party, other well-known democrats and nationalists, and the leader of the nationalist-religious opposition group, Charta 87, Hubert Jacobs. A few of them have since been expelled to Sweden—and several more are said to be on their way.

Those arrested were charged with a number of different crimes and misdemeanors—from hoisting the banned black, white, and blue independence flag to stealing a pair of women's shoes (!). The real reason was probably that the authorities hoped to prevent the mass demonstration they feared by silencing its leaders.

Nevertheless, after the work day ended, 20,000 demonstrators gathered at the monument to author A.H. Tammsaare in the center of the capital. This is reported by the Aid Center for Political Prisoners in Estonia, whose sources have always proved to be reliable in the past.

One of Charta 87's members, Raivo Raave, appealed to the crowd not to allow itself to be provoked into violence, which would give the security organs an excuse to take action. A former political prisoner and a founder of the Independence Party, Mati Kiirend, was also able to make himself heard. He spoke about the need for human and national rights in Estonia too.

Thousands of demonstrators then made their way to the Town Hall Square. Because the authorities had not arranged some “jamming device,” several speeches were made there. One of the founders of the new Independence Party, Jaan Nomm, spoke about the need to reestablish independence and his speech brought ovations. The crowd also repeatedly chanted, “Eesti, Eesti, Eesti vabaks!” (“Estonia, Estonia, Estonia free!”) This was clearly too much for the security organs, who responded by dispersing the crowd.

The demonstrators went on to the Hirve Park by Cathedral Hill, where there were demonstrations last summer against the Hitler-Stalin pact. There several speeches were made. The security organs did not intervene but contented themselves with photographing the demonstrators. Toward midnight the demonstration broke up peacefully. At the same time the arrested leaders of the demonstration were released.

So much for the picture I have been able to piece together with the aid of eyewitness reports from Estonia. But it is sad that the Swedish public did not have the chance to see direct reports from the occupied Baltic states—in the same way that we see shocking pictures from the areas occupied by Israel.

If only a Swedish television team had been on the spot and you, at home in your armchairs, had been able to see 20,000 Estonians demonstrating quietly and with dignity by singing in unison their banned national anthem—surrounded by thousands of militiamen.

Recently a couple of Sweden's party leaders have acted in an exemplary fashion in the context of the Baltic question, even without such stimuli. Moderate Coalition Party leader Carl Bildt was the Swedish guest speaker when a couple of thousand Estonians recently celebrated the 70th anniversary of the Estonian declaration of independence. The Moderate Party leader told a packed Stockholm City Hall how his interest in the Baltic states has grown out of his earlier interest in Europe.

Bildt reminded his audience of the Hitler-Stalin pact, which he called “our age's most shameful document.” According to the moderate leader, this agreement made “World War II possible by giving Hitler a free hand to subjugate Poland. It gave Stalin the power to subjugate Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania and also to seek to crush free Finland. And this is often forgotten: For 2 of World War II's 5 years the Soviet Union was fighting alongside—certainly not against!—the barbarism of Hitlerite Germany.”

Against this dark background he painted the sunny vision of “a Europe with freedom for all. The dream of a Baltic which could be a real sea of peace and freedom. For history teaches us one thing again and again: That real peace needs freedom. That the peace which comes from repression is short-lived and always sows the seed of new conflicts and war.”

As a yachtsman of many years' standing Carl Bildt has had a greater awareness of the countries on the other side of the Baltic than those Swedes for whom the Baltic states have simply become a region from which low pressure areas move east or west. He also visited Tallinn a couple of times in the seventies.

Liberal Party leader Bengt Westerberg, perhaps more than any other Swedish politician, has taken an active interest in Estonian affairs in recent years. Even in his

first speech as Liberal Party leader he noted how "freedom" has become an empty slogan or something taken for granted for many young people in Sweden, while it is still filled with meaning for many of their contemporaries on the other side of the Baltic. He also declared that "nothing would do more to promote lasting peace than if the communist regime in the Soviet Union were replaced by a democratic regime."

When the Estonians in Stockholm celebrated their national day in Stockholm Konserthus, packed as usual, in February 1984 Bengt Westerberg gave a much-praised speech. He did the same at the end of the Baltic peace and freedom cruise in the summer of 1985. Recently he spoke in the Goteborg Konserthus, when Estonians celebrated the 70th anniversary of their declaration of independence.

"I was impressed that there were so many people there," he said. "There must have been at least 1,200 people there, because the Konserthus was full. There was also a very good atmosphere. It was one of the most enthusiastic meetings I have attended since I was in Goteborg 5 days before the last election, when we also had a meeting in the Konserthus and were even forced to turn away a couple of hundred people, for whom there was simply no room. It was wonderful to come back and experience such enthusiasm again."

In his 27 February speech in Goteborg, Bengt Westerberg did not content himself with speaking in general terms about freedom. He also demanded—once again—that the best-known dissident in Estonia today, Mart Niklaus, be released immediately. He announced that the Liberal Party's international fund had decided to grant a further 10,000 kronor to the Aid Center for Political Prisoners in Estonia to support political prisoners and their families.

And last but not least he put forward an eight-point program to support Baltic peace and freedom activists and to expand links between Sweden and Estonia.

First, within the framework of its foreign service transmissions Sveriges Radio could also broadcast news and other information in the languages of our Baltic neighbors—Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian.

Second, a strengthening of economic ties between the Baltic states and Sweden would be welcome, especially now that Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania have been allowed to form their own foreign trade organizations.

Third, it would be beneficial if communications between Sweden and the Baltic states were increased through direct air and sea links.

Fourth, automatic telephone traffic should be introduced between Sweden and the Baltic states, as between Sweden and more distant countries and continents.

Fifth, consideration should be given to setting up Swedish consulates in the Baltic capitals to facilitate various forms of contact—economic, cultural, and sporting contacts, and tourism.

Sixth, we in Sweden should continue to appeal to the Soviet Government to respect the Helsinki Agreement's undertakings on the reunification of divided families.

Seventh, within the framework provided by the UN Human Rights Commission, the Nordic governments should separately—or severally—work for an investigation into the situation in the Baltic republics regarding human rights and national self-determination. In doing so we would live up to the resolution adopted by a unanimous Council of Europe last year and supported by the Swedish delegation.

Eighth, we could—in accordance with the Council of Europe's recommendation to its member governments—raise the Baltic question at the Helsinki conference's follow-up meetings.

Summing up, Bengt Westerberg declared once again:

"Just as many Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians see Sweden as a Neighbor with a capital 'N,' Nordic solidarity should also embrace our Baltic neighbors. The Baltic cause is our cause too!"

'A Dozen' Refuzniks Detained in Moscow
AU241840 Paris AFP in English 1750 GMT
24 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, March 24 (AFP)—Moscow police and KGB state security agents detained a dozen Soviet Jews late Thursday as they were demonstrating near the Kremlin for the right to emigrate. Eyewitnesses said the "refuzniks"—Jews who are refused emigration passes—stood before the Lenin library for a few minutes, bearing yellow stars, a Jewish identification symbol used by Nazi Germany in World War II. Moscow militiamen (uniformed police) and KGB agents then took them away in buses.

The remaining crowd started discussing the right to demonstrate. An elderly man criticized the militia's intervention, and brandished this week's issue of the MOSCOW NEWS, which denounces authorities' frequent refusal to allow demonstrations in the capital. Since September, rally organizers have had to apply for permission from the authorities.

A militiaman commented that demonstrations should not give way to "anarchy," and another proceeded to break up the gathering.

Yuriy Kosharovskiy, another protester who calls himself the "oldest refuznik"—he first applied to emigrate 17 years ago—said he and his wife had been on a hunger strike for the past two weeks.

State Committees for Forests, Timber Formed
*PM221149 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Mar 88
Morning Edition p 2*

[Unattributed report: "In the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] With a view to radically restructuring the management of forestry and the timber industry, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has set up a USSR union-republic State Committee for Forests, the basis of the USSR State Committee for Forestry, and a USSR union-republic Ministry of the Timber Industry on the basis of the USSR Ministry of the Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry.

Restrictions on Mailing Abroad To Be Eased
*PM231613 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Mar 88
Morning Edition p 6*

[Reader's letter under the rubric "Following Up Letters '...Not for Publication'": "Response to Ban"; last paragraph is editorial reply]

[Excerpts] The situation described by Ye. Khabarov in the note "Parcel Under Suspicion" (IZVESTIYA No. 48) touches on a sensitive topic. Many things are prohibited from being sent abroad in parcels. Since 1983, a statement must be written and a form filled out in duplicate in order to send any printed publication abroad. As if the sender is intending to personally accompany his printed matter abroad! Does all this help to expand contacts between people? Rather, the contrary. [Passage omitted]

Many more obstacles to international postal exchange have arisen. Many of them contradict common sense and the spirit of the times.

O. Kotkalo, Stakhanov

When this response had already been sent for typesetting, the editorial office received an official response to the earlier article. V. Draganov, deputy chief of the State Customs Inspection Administration, admits that the list of objects banned from being sent abroad from the USSR does indeed contain a multitude of unwarranted restrictions. It is now being revised. It is planned to considerably extend the list of objects allowed to be mailed and also to increase their quantity. In the near future the appropriate changes will be made to customs postal regulations.

New State Committee for RSFSR Created
*PM241415 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA
INDUSTRIYA
in Russian 19 Mar 88 p 2*

[Unattributed report: "In the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] The RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has formed the RSFSR Union-Republic State Committee For Nature Protection.

RSFSR Council of Ministers Discussions Held
*PM241421 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 19 Mar 88 p 2*

[Unattributed report: "In the RSFSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] At its latest session the RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium has examined the question of the work of RSFSR ministries and departments to develop direct production ties and create joint enterprises and international associations with enterprises of the socialist community countries. It was pointed out that the level and scale of this work still do not correspond to the Russian Federation's industrial, scientific, and technical potential and are not ensuring the requisite economic effect. The RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium Commission on Questions of Economic Ties with Foreign Countries, the RSFSR Gosplan, RSFSR ministries and departments, and local organs of power have been tasked with taking resolute steps to radically improve foreign economic cooperation. New forms of cooperation must be used to resolve tasks concerned with sectors' coordinated development, expand production of competitive types of output, and ensure high efficiency of economic collaboration.

The question of the "Health of the Nationalities of the North" targeted program was examined. It has been noted that definite results have been achieved in reinforcing the health of these nationalities as a result of the consistent implementation of plans for the economic and social development of the regions where the nationalities of the north live. But the level and quality of medical aid still do not conform with contemporary demands. The RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium approved a "Health of the Nationalities of the North" targeted program designed to radically improve the prevention of disease, boost the quality of treatment and preventive aid, and improve the work of public health organs and establishments.

The session examined other questions of the republic's social and economic life.

Agenda for 19 April RSFSR Supreme Soviet

PM241359 [Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 19 March 1988 in its Second Edition carries on page 1 a 100-word report under the headline "RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree on the Convening of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet" on 19 April accompanied by the following text:

"The RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium reports that it is planned to submit the following questions for examination by the 7th session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, 11th convocation:

"1. On the work of the RSFSR's soviet and economic organs to provide every family with a separate apartment or individual house by the year 2000 in accordance with the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress.

"2. On the RSFSR draft law 'On Nationwide Discussion of Important Questions of State Life.'

"3. On the ratification of RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees."

Children Killed for Transplant Rumors Denied

PM241519 Moscow NEDELYA in Russian No 11,
14-20 Mar 88 (Signed to Press 16 Mar 88) p 7

[Article by Ye. Vadimova and Yu. Ivashchenko under the rubric "From Authoritative Sources": "Ter-r-r-ible Rumors"]

[Text] The "RHI" ("Rumor Has It") network has carried the following report:

An underground millionaire became ill. He needed urgent surgery to have a healthy organ transplanted. A criminal gang was paid vast sums of money to kidnap many children in Moscow. The organs that were needed were excised, their blood was pumped out. The bodies were mainly destroyed, but some of them were found. The militia is trying in vain to trace the kidnappers.

Many Muscovites have heard similar stories recently and are inordinately perturbed. Adults accompany children right to the school gate and meet them in the same place after school so that they should not be left without proper supervision for even a moment. While dads and moms, grannies and granddads kill time waiting around for their offspring the kidnap story is embellished with more and more bloodcurdling details. As always, the audience quickly tires of references to "RHI" and the sources of the information are already being identified as "a militia major" or "a prosecutor's office investigator I know...." Any attempt to identify them by name is considered tactless in such cases, but the veracity of reports that are circulating is, for some unknown reason, totally unquestionable.

In our desire to avoid innuendos and discover the real truth we approached authoritative officials who are responsible for their words.

So, have there been any kidnap cases?

Moscow Prosecutor Lev Baranov:

"The truism that 'There's no smoke without fire' also applies in this case. But let us investigate what caused the appearance of the rumors.

"In my view, fertile imaginations were fired by numerous press reports about organ transplants. This is becoming something ordinary, and we are constantly learning about transplants of hearts, lungs, kidneys, spinal cord tissue.... All this is nothing but the truth. It is also true that destitute people abroad do sell their blood, kidneys, and corneas which are used to provide medical assistance to well-off people.

"One must add to any objective information the stories contained in thrillers. The story of a rich patient killing—not children, but his own brother—to live a little longer with his heart seems to have originated from a feature movie shown on our television.

"I would imagine that passions were also inflamed by a recent NEDELYA article about criminals kidnapping children to extract ransom payments.

"Truth plus fabrication plus truth.... There you have a readymade bonfire waiting to be set alight by a few sparks of unhealthy imagination.

"I declare: The Moscow Prosecutor's Office has no details about children being kidnapped so that their organs could be transplanted to other people. Moreover, there has not been a single case of kidnapping for ransom either last year or this year. Such crimes (ransom payments, I mean) have been committed in some regions of the country, but not in Moscow.

"But this does not mean children do not disappear. Last year alone the militia received 421 disappearance reports. Some 416 of the children are already back home. I hope that the remaining five will be found safe and sound. There have been 66 reports filed during the first 2 months of this year. Everything has ended well in 53 cases; those who disappeared have either returned or been brought back.

"But not every disappearance case can be attributed to 'a desire for a change of location.' There are occasions when we discover bodies. The body of a 16-year old girl was recently found in the sewers. The criminals have been detected. Rumors may be fueled by three murders committed in the suburbs in 1986. Alas, the murderer (murderers?) has not yet been found, but it can be said with all certainty that the killed adolescents were not victims of 'medical' interests."

...We also asked medical practitioners to express their views regarding the rumors which have attracted so much attention.

Anzor Khubutiya, deputy director of the USSR Ministry of Health Scientific Research Institute for Transplantology and Artificial Organs:

"Let me say at once that children's organs can be transplanted only to other children. They are totally unsuitable for adults, adults need strong, developed, and fully functioning organs. Operations for children's organ transplants are unique, there is only one precedent in our country.

"It is also simply absurd to imagine that someone would commit a serious crime and murder an unknown child without knowing his blood group or whether his organs would be suitable for the patient for whom they may be meant.

"Our institute runs an All-Union Center for the Collection and Conservation of Organs. It gathers information from hospitals about cases when someone is suffering from brain injury which is incompatible with life. A whole team consisting of a surgeon and several medical workers travel to the spot. To obtain a donor's organ, they need the appropriate equipment and observance of all rules of antiseptics. Afterward dozens of physicians from the most diverse specialized fields examine the organs of the deceased and of the transplant patient for compatibility.

"I think there is no need to explain that the transplant operation itself can be done only by a qualified medical institution. It is beyond the capacity of 1, 2, or even 10 people to set up such an enterprise.

"As for taking blood plasma from children, there is absolutely no need for it. We have sufficient donor blood. Moreover, a child's blood is in no way better than an adult's.

"Consequently, all this is nothing but downright fabrication. People have simply seen too many 'horror' movies. I seem to recall one titled 'The Secret of Honeymoon Hotel,' where young people were being kidnapped so that their organs could be taken. But if you recall, a vast hospital had been organized there for this purpose."

Economic

Jan-Feb Industrial Performance Report

PM231445 Moscow *EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA*
in Russian No 12, Mar 88 (Signed to Press 17 Mar 88)
p 8

[USSR State Committee for Statistics report: "On Industry's Work in January-February 1988"—boldface as published]

[Text] In January-February 1988 contract commitments for output deliveries in line with state orders and direct deliveries on the basis of contracts with consumers were

fulfilled 98.9 percent by industry as a whole against 97.3 percent in January-February 1987. Some 16 percent of associations and enterprises failed to cope with their commitments.

Compared with January-February of last year industrial output growth amounted to 5.8 percent, with an average daily growth of 5.0 percent.

The fulfillment of contract commitments for output deliveries, the profit plan, and rates of growth of the volume of output (works, services) in January-February 1988 by national economic complexes is as follows [Columns in the following table represent: Column A—PERCENTAGE fulfillment of contract commitments; Column B—SHORTFALL in output deliveries, millions of rubles; Column C—PERCENTAGE of enterprises failing to fulfill contract commitments; Column D—PERCENTAGE fulfillment of the profit plan (January); Column E—ACTUAL percentage rate of growth of the volume of output (works, services) in comparable prices]:

	A	B	C	D	E
Fuel and energy complex	99.3	62	26	105.3	4.6
Metallurgical complex	99.2	101	24	104.5	5.0
Machine building complex	98.7	205	35	92.3	9.3
Chemical industry and timber complex	98.4	264	38	100.7	6.0
Agro-industrial complex	99.6	80	11	95.7	3.2
Social complex (USSR Ministry of Light Industry)	98.7	215	23	99.6	5.1
Construction industry complex (USSR Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry)	99.0	22	17	100.9	6.2

Data on industry's work in January-February this year for **union republics** (including industry under union-level jurisdiction) is cited below [Columns in the following table represent: Column A—PERCENTAGE fulfillment of contract commitments; Column B—PERCENTAGE of enterprises failing to fulfill contract commitments; Column C—ACTUAL percentage rate of growth of volume of output (works, services) in comparable prices]:

	A	B	C
RSFSR	98.9	18	5.5
Ukrainian SSR	98.8	14	6.9
Belorussian SSR	99.9	5	7.5
Uzbek SSR	98.7	14	0.5
Kazakh SSR	99.1	12	5.1
Georgian SSR	99.0	11	2.7

	A	B	C
Azerbaijan SSR	98.7	14	3.7
Lithuanian SSR	99.7	3	5.9
Moldavian SSR	99.0	14	7.0
Latvian SSR	99.3	10	6.5
Kirghiz SSR	99.0	19	7.9
Tajik SSR	99.1	19	6.4
Armenian SSR	97.4	17	2.3
Turkmen SSR	99.4	6	2.7
Estonian SSR	99.6	7	3.3

At industrial associations and enterprises where **state acceptance** of output has been introduced (2,200 enterprises), 8 percent of output worth R1.2 billion was rejected on first submission during February, and the output eventually rejected since the start of the year amounts to R11 million.

Data on the progress of fulfillment of state orders and the production of the most important types of output by national economic complexes are cited below:

Fuel and Energy Complex [subhead]

	Actual in Jan-Feb 1988	Percentage fulfillment of target	Jan-Feb 1988 as percentage of Jan-Feb 1987
Electricity, billion kilowatt-hours	314	100.8	104
Oil (including gas condensate), million tonnes	103	101	103
Gas, billion cubic meters	130	103	109
Coal, million tonnes	133	103	103

The **fuel and energy complex** sectors exceeded their set targets by more than 2 billion kilowatt-hours of electricity, 1.2 million tonnes of oil including gas condensate, 4 billion cubic meters of gas, and 4.3 million tonnes of coal including 1.8 million tonnes of coking coal.

At the same time, a number of associations failed to meet their targets for the extraction of fuel and energy resources. Delivery shortfalls amounted to 0.1 million tonnes of coal at the "Stakhanovugol" and "Rovenkianratsit" Associations under the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry, 53,300 tonnes of oil at the "Noyabrskneftegaz," "Purneftegaz," and "Azneft" Associations under the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Industry, and 31 million cubic meters of gas at the "Astrakhangazprom" Association under the USSR Ministry of the Gas Industry. **Metallurgy Complex** [subhead]

	Actual in Jan-Feb 1988	Percentage fulfillment of target	Jan-Feb 1988 as percentage of Jan-Feb 1987
Steel, million tonnes	27.0	100.9	103
Rolled ferrous metal products (finished), million tonnes	19.2	101	105
Steel pipes, million tonnes	3.3	101	106
Iron ore, million tonnes	41.1	101	102

Metallurgy complex enterprises ensured the fulfillment of state orders for finished rolled ferrous metal products and steel pipes.

At the same time, production of oxygen conversion steel, electric steel, cold-rolled sheet metal, and a number of other advanced types of metal products was less than planned, and this prevented the complete fulfillment of contract commitments to consumers.

The "Zaporozhstal" Metallurgical Combine, the Dzerzhinskiy Metallurgical Combine in Dneprovskiy, and the Yenakiyev Metallurgical Combine failed to cope with the fulfillment of state orders for finished rolled metal products.

Machine Building Complex [subhead]

	Actual in Jan-Feb 1988	Percentage fulfillment of target	Jan-Feb 1988 as percentage of Jan-Feb 1987
Turbine generators, million kilowatts	2.2	90	160
Large electric machines, thousands	4.0	89	108
Special, specialized, and modular metal cutting machine tools, thousands	7.6	99.5	97
Metal cutting machine tools with digital program control, thousands	3.3	99.6	104
Forging and pressing machines with digital program control, units	315	97	151
Instruments, automation equipment, and spare parts, million rubles	836	100.1	113

	Actual in Jan-Feb 1988	Percentage fulfillment of target	Jan-Feb 1988 as percentage of Jan-Feb 1987
Medical equipment and spare parts, million rubles	151	104	110
Computer equipment and spare parts, million rubles	866	102	121
Ferrous metal rolling equipment, million rubles	38.6	97	135
Petroleum apparatus, million rubles	44.5	98	113
Chemical equipment and spare parts, million rubles	168	96	115
Industrial equipment and spare parts for light industry and processing sectors of the agro-industrial complex, million rubles	343	94	111
Tractors, million horsepower	8.8	98	104
Agricultural machines, million rubles	669	98	103
Machines and equipment for stockraising and feed production, million rubles	467	98	114
Excavators, thousands	6.9	98	118

The machine building complex recorded an accelerated buildup of the output of machines and equipment, especially advanced types. Compared with January-February last year, production of industrial robots by the USSR Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry and of devices with digital program control by the USSR Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems increased by half.

The 2-month targets were met by the USSR Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry in terms of processing centers, and by the USSR Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building in terms of a number of types of agricultural equipment: beet harvesters, grain harvesting combines, and other machines.

But a shortfall against the targets set for the 1st 2 months built up for a number of types of output covered by state orders. Targets were not met by the USSR Ministry of

the Electrical Equipment Industry for large electric machines and AC electric motors, by the USSR Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems for instruments, automation equipment, and spare parts and medical equipment, by the USSR Ministry of Construction, Road, and Municipal Machine Building for excavators, by the USSR Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building for tractors and machines and equipment for stockraising and feed production, and by the USSR Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry for programmable metal cutting machine tools and forging and pressing machines.

Chemical Industry and Timber Complex [subhead]

	Actual in Jan-Feb 1988	Percentage fulfillment of target	Jan-Feb 1988 as percentage of Jan-Feb 1987
Mineral fertilizers (in 100-percent nutrient equivalent), million tonnes	6.1	102	104
Chemical plant protection agents (in 100-percent active ingredient equivalent) thousand tonnes	55.1	101	97
Sulfuric acid, million tonnes	5.1	99	107
Caustic soda, thousand tonnes	561	99	105
Chemical fibers and yarns, thousand tonnes	261	102	104
Truck tires, millions	4.6	100.3	105
Car tires, millions	3.9	102	108
Tires for agricultural machines, millions	2.0	99.3	101
Medicines, million rubles	552	101	102
Commercial lumber (excluding small timber procurements) million trimmed cubic meters	65.7	100.9	102
Paper, million tonnes	1.1	102	107
of which newsprint, billion square meters	6.2	102	106

The results of the work of work industrial enterprises within the chemical industry and timber complex during

the 1st 2 months show that they ensured the fulfillment of their set targets and achieved the planned output growth for mineral fertilizers, polypropylene, chemical fibers and yarns, synthetic rubber, magnetic tapes, truck and car tires, hard wood-fiber slabs, paper, and cardboard.

At the same time, there was a shortfall of over 65,000 tonnes in the production of synthetic ammonia as a result of arrears which were allowed to build up by enterprises under the USSR Ministry of the Production of Mineral Fertilizers ("Stirol" in Gorlovka, "Azot" in Cherkassy, "Tolyattiazot," and the Turkmen nitrogenous fertilizers plant).

The situation in terms of meeting the targets for the production of caustic soda and soda ash did not improve in the system of the USSR Ministry of the Chemical Industry.

Four of the ministry's five enterprises manufacturing soda ash failed to meet their plan targets in February; the worst laggards were Sterlitamak's "Soda" Production Association (88 percent, delivery shortfall 20,000 tonnes) and the Crimea's "Khimprom" Production Association (83 percent and 10,900 tonnes respectively).

The shortfall allowed to build up in February by Sumgait's "Organicheskiy Sintez" Production Association (24 percent) increased the sector's arrears in terms of polyethylene production.

Enterprises under the USSR Ministry of the Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry met their February targets for the manufacture of lumber, but failed to fully make up for the shortfall which was allowed to build up in January. The shortfall over the 2 months amounted to 17,000 cubic meters. The work of major timber procurement associations like "Dallesprom," "Irkutsklesprom," and "Primorsklesprom" remains unsatisfactory, and their arrears in commercial lumber production since the beginning of the year has risen to 0.5 million cubic meters.

Industry Within the Construction Industry Complex [subhead]

	Actual in Jan-Feb 1988	Percentage fulfillment of target	Jan-Feb 1988 as percentage of Jan-Feb 1987
Cement, million tonnes	22.7	101	104
Asbestos cement sheet (shingles), million standard tiles	1,436	100.1	100

	Actual in Jan-Feb 1988	Percentage fulfillment of target	Jan-Feb 1988 as percentage of Jan-Feb 1987
Asbestos cement pipes and sleeves, thousand km standard pipes	13.5	101	100.9
Soft roofing and insulation materials, million square meters	333	99	102
Construction glass, million square meters	48.1	100.7	103

Industry within the construction industry complex met its February and January-February targets for the manufacture of cement, asbestos cement pipes and sleeves, construction glass, and asbestos cement sheet (shingles). Arrears in meeting the February targets for the production of soft roofing and insulation materials were allowed to build up, with delivery shortfalls increasing since the beginning of the year to reach about 4 million square meters.

The following figures describe the production of consumer goods:

	Actual in Jan-Feb 1988	Percentage fulfillment of target	Jan-Feb 1988 as percentage of Jan-Feb 1987
Foodstuffs			
Meat, including Category I subproducts (from state raw material resources), million tonnes	2.0	108	101
Sausage products, thousand tonnes	616	102	104
Butter (from state raw material resources), thousand tonnes	168	115	110
Whole milk products in milk equivalent (from state raw material resources) million tonnes	5.2	104	104
Full fat cheese, thousand tonnes	117	103	106

	Actual in Jan-Feb 1988	Percentage fulfillment of target	Jan-Feb 1988 as percentage of Jan-Feb 1987
Commodity edible fish products (including canned fish), thousand tonnes	1,015	107	98
Vegetable oil (from state raw material resources), thousand tonnes	574	101	102
Margarine products, thousand tonnes	280	100.8	104
Confectionery products thousand tonnes			
831	102	104	
Canned food, billion standard cans	2.4	107	105
Light Industry Products			
Cotton textiles, million square meters	1,331	99.7	104
Linen, hemp, and jute textiles, million square meters	163	99.9	104
Woollen textiles, million square meters	118	99	103
Silk textiles, million square meters	349	100.2	108
Knitted articles, million items	306	99.2	103
Hosiery, million pairs	347	100.9	105
Footwear, million pairs	136	99.2	101
Nonfood Consumer Goods (excluding light industry goods)			
Television sets, millions	1.5	98	128
of which, color sets	0.9	100.7	166
Refrigerators and freezers, millions	1.0	100.3	110
Motorcycles, thousands	162	97	116
Sewing machines, thousands	248	91	107
Washing machines, millions	1.0	96	115

	Actual in Jan-Feb 1988	Percentage fulfillment of target	Jan-Feb 1988 as percentage of Jan-Feb 1987
Furniture, billion rubles	1.5	99.8	109
Automobiles, thousands	215.5	100.2	100.4

The total value of **consumer goods** produced in January-February this year (excluding alcoholic beverages) amounted to more than R50 billion in retail prices. The 2-month targets for the total volume of consumer goods production were met.

At the same time, enterprises under the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry, the USSR Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building, the USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry, the USSR Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building, and the USSR Ministry of the Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry failed to meet the prescribed targets.

Production was less than planned by 25,000 television sets, 59,000 radio receivers, 51,000 tape recorders, 43,000 washing machines, 26,000 sewing machines, and 5,400 motorcycles. A lag was allowed to build up in the manufacture of vacuum cleaners, bicycles, galvanic cells, and batteries for domestic appliances.

The manufacture of light industry goods increased in comparison with the corresponding period of last year. But the range and quality of many articles fail to satisfy consumer demand. The USSR Ministry of Light Industry failed to fulfill state orders for cotton and woollen textiles, knitted goods, and footwear. According to the January-February results, 411 of the ministry's enterprises did not cope with their contract commitments. The resulting shortfall in deliveries of output and goods to consumers amounted to R215 million.

State Acceptance Impact on Construction Viewed PM241645 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Mar 88 Second Edition p 2

[Interview with G. Kolmogorov, USSR State Committee for Standards chairman, by special correspondent M. Buzhkevich: "The Construction of the Building Was Stopped... Conversation With Chairman of USSR State Committee for Standards on State Acceptance in Construction"; date and place not given—first two paragraphs PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] In the capital's Solntsevskiy Rayon the Moscow large panel housing construction association is erecting some 22-story apartment blocks. At the beginning of January the workers building two blocks ran into difficulties. The assembly of the ninth story of the first building and the top story of the second building was halted. The order came from representatives of state acceptance, who had discovered breaches of techniques.

Two days after the leaders of the construction projection submitted a detailed plan for eliminating the shortcomings, assembly work resumed. It was with a discussion of this case that the conversation between PRAVDA special correspondent M. Buzhkevich and M. Kolmogorov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Standards, began.

"Nothing out of the ordinary happened," the chairman of the USSR State Committee said. "On 1 January this year state acceptance was introduced for housing and social facilities in 22 of the country's cities, including Moscow, in accordance with a CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decision. The state acceptance representatives halted the assembly of the blocks in Solntsevskiy Rayon until the operating techniques were rectified.

Buzhkevich: But before that, Georgiy Dmitriyevich, a quality control system for construction existed. To be specific, it was carried out by organs of GASK—THE State Architectural and Construction Control. Why was it necessary to introduce state acceptance in this sector?

Kolmogorov: There was a system, it is true, but unfortunately it did not ensure effective monitoring. The problem was departmentalism. The GASK organs were subordinate to gorispolkoms and were constantly being pressured by their leaders, who forced them to accept unfinished buildings for the sake of plan fulfillment—people were waiting for apartments, they said. Everyone became accustomed to that.

As a result the government decided to introduce an extradepartmental system of independent monitoring of construction based on the example set by industry. They instructed us at the State Committee for Standards to handle the state acceptance of housing and social, cultural, and consumer facilities. The initial scale of the work is not great. Forty state acceptance organs have been set up in 22 cities under our committee's territorial standards, weights, and measures organs. In addition to Moscow they are operative in Leningrad, Kiev, Sverdlovsk, Minsk, Riga, Vilnius, Tallinn, Yerevan, Tbilisi, Kishinev, Frunze, Vladivostok, Lvov, Nizhnekamsk, Kirovabad, Chardzhou, Fergana, Petropavlovsk, and Leninabad. Experienced construction workers form the backbone of the new service.

Buzhkevich: An apartment block is a complex building. It is virtually impossible to find defects in it after it has been built. Even if they are discovered, they are sometimes not rectified. What should the acceptance procedure be for a building?

Kolmogorov: Of course, it is easier to detect a fault in a television set or a lathe even after they have been assembled than in a large building. Thus state acceptance in the construction industry will be introduced stage by stage. The foundation has been laid and our representatives are assessing its quality. If everything is in order,

the construction of the building goes ahead. When assembly is completed there is a routine acceptance check. It is the same with finishing and specialist work: the installation of sanitary engineering, the laying of power lines, telephone lines, and so forth.

When the construction workers have fully completed their work and consider the building fit for habitation, the acceptance commission will arrive, consisting of the usual people: representatives of the local soviet, the agents of the client and the subcontractor, representatives of the health and fire departments, and other services and organizations. They will complete the document handing over the building for use. But with a fundamental addition. This document will become operative only after it has been approved by the leader of the state acceptance organ. What used to happen? The State Commission would accept the building with a whole host of unfinished jobs and the construction workers who had guaranteed that they would rectify the faults would then go off to another site. The ill-fated new occupants would be left with cold radiators and leaking joints and a lot of effort ahead to rectify the faulty work. State acceptance will put an end to that once and for all. The document handing over the building will not be signed by its representatives until the building is absolutely ready.

Buzhkevich: Does that mean we are finally going to realize our age-old dream in which houses and apartments are handed over on a "turnkey" basis, as buildings which you can enter without needing to repair anything or spend time looking for a technical inspector from whom to obtain mixers, cranes, gas cooker rings, and much else that the residents have to install.

Kolmogorov: Yes, handing buildings over on a turnkey basis—that is what we are hoping to teach our construction workers.

Buzhkevich: Even though it is only a couple of months now since state acceptance began working in construction, can you tell us something about the initial lessons you have learned?

Kolmogorov: Unfortunately, certain mistakes were made even during preparation for the introduction of the new type of extradepartmental control. Initially state acceptance is being applied to apartment blocks and to buildings belonging to children's institutions. Later other social facilities will be included. But the list of construction industry enterprises where it is going to operate is very meager. It was also immediately discovered that there is a lack of proper quality control of structures and components (a fact, incidentally, which is also noticed at industrial enterprises). How can you put up a good, reliable, and well-equipped building if the equipment supplied for its assembly consists of panels that do not join, floors that are uneven, and woodworking that does not fit. Now this error is to be rectified as work progresses. An example has been provided by Moscow Gorispolkom, which made a decision to immediately

introduce the departmental acceptance of finished output at all construction industry enterprises in the city with a view to replacing that by state acceptance on 1 July this year. I think that it would be beneficial to apply the Muscovites' experience to other cities where the state acceptance of housing is being introduced.

Buzhkevich: These are teething troubles, as it were. But have any problems come to light in the work since 1 January?

Kolmogorov: I should like to talk first about the measurement system in construction. This is a question of the instruments and devices which enable you to produce various measurements with the utmost accuracy. For example, without a theodolite or a surveyor's level it is impossible to prepare a construction site, to accurately lay foundations, or to assemble structures. Thus it was that the state acceptance representatives discovered that the system of measurement on many construction organizations is completely neglected and that the provision of instruments varies from 20 to 40 percent. In some places they do not even have the basic calibrated rules for checking plasterwork quality or tape measures. Concern to raise the standard of measurement in construction is the task of the USSR Gosstroy and subordinate ministries. The USSR Gosstnab plays an important role here, of course.

Buzhkevich: Quite a few conflicts have emerged in the process of introducing state acceptance at industrial enterprises. In the process of resolving those conflicts the tasks of the new monitoring organ were clarified. Have those lessons been taken into account by the state acceptance organization for construction?

Kolmogorov: Yes, we have tried to make fuller use of the experience accumulated in industry. First, extensive preparatory work was carried out: Construction workers were given an explanation of the aims and tasks of the form of monitoring and assessing their work that is being introduced. This was discussed at meetings in production collectives. It was necessary to adjust the construction norms and rules—SNIPS, as they are called—and the technical conditions for the production and acceptance of construction work. In addition, it became clear that during the construction of buildings foremen and clerks of works most often work from plans and hardly ever use the SNIPS or other normative acts and thus have a poor knowledge of them. It is necessary to work on ways of restoring the standing of these documents.

The state acceptance representatives are required to take part in the improvement of technology and of the quality of all work involved in the construction process. From the laying of the foundations to the submission of the building for state acceptance, they must be not only uncompromising and objective quality controllers but

also active participants in implementing one of the most humanitarian tasks of socialism—providing every Soviet family with its own apartment or individual house by the year 2000.

Poultry Factories Offer Shares to Employees
LD231255 Moscow TASS in English 1216 GMT
23 Mar 88

[Text] Khabarovsk March 23 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yuriy Vitrishchak:

A poultry research-and-production amalgamation in the Soviet far eastern city of Khabarovsk has acquired the features of a public company as it has made a stock offering to its staff and some 100 employees have bought the shares.

Dividends are expected to run up to 15 percent a year.

The amalgamation, which includes 30 poultry plants and other businesses, has not been forced into the scheme by financial difficulties.

"The main purpose of selling stock to staff is to provide them with added incentive to turn in more productive and efficient work," the amalgamation's chief economist Nikolay Rusakov told a TASS correspondent.

"Dividends will be directly dependent on profits."

"If the plan for profits is met, they will amount to three percent. If it is exceeded by five percent, the payments will double. They can increase in this way till the fixed limit of 15 percent," he explained.

The worker collective's elected council has decided that 60 percent of the share-holders' monetary contributions will go to meet production purposes, while the rest will be spent on housing construction and the provision of other social services and amenities for the amalgamation's employees.

The practice of enlisting workers' personal savings to develop production has already been tried at several industrial and agricultural enterprises, with positive results reported in the Ukraine and the Russian Federation.

Agricultural

Moscow Farmers Congress Activities Continue

Gorbachev Participates in Debate
LD242150 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 24 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] The Fourth All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers continued its work in Moscow today. [passage omitted]

When purchasing technical equipment, kolkhozes should bypass State Committees for the Supply of Production Equipment for Agriculture, which charge up to 13 percent of the equipment price for mediation. This proposal was voiced by (Popov), delegate from Volgograd Oblast and chairman of the Rossiya Kolkhoz in Kalachev Rayon.

[Begin recording] [(Popov)] The issue of equipment costs should be looked into, as well, and with greater attention. This price does not stand up to criticism, the more so as equipment design and quality still do not stand up to criticism either. Refusals to purchase have already taken place, and there have already been incidences of its distribution to farms through imposed methods, as Comrade (Mikhail Grigoryevich Vagin) writes in SOVETS-KAYA ROSSIYA. That is independence and self-financing for you! How are we going to resolve the issues of the transfer to self-recouping in this way, when we invest the works with the exclusive right to resolve the issue of selling its equipment? When discussing the draft Kolkhoz Charter, kolkhoz workers asked... [video shows (Popov) addressing audience]

[Gorbachev, from off-screen, interrupting] You know, you are tackling a very big subject. Already this year the government has had to amend Comrade Yezhevskiy's plan. Was it by 600 billion [unit not specified]?

[Voices from off-screen] Yes.

[Gorbachev] Because they have refused to accept useless equipment. I think that after we have mastered wholesale trade—this is roughly similar to what you are saying—and when the output of this works or another lies idle and unsold, then right away the question arises: How is it going to live? It was the same when we were wondering how to integrate science, with production, how to create incentives? Why is science so slow in engaging itself in the process? Now, however, we have transferred industrial science to financial autonomy, and it has turned out, as a result, that many institutes that pay good salaries and have titles, have nothing to offer to production. They started looking around for buyers, but what they offer is out of date and useless. No one is interested. Then the question arises...[interrupted by audience applause] The state used to allocate 1, 1.5, or 2 billion per year for such an institute, you know. What for? Whose money was this? It was money produced by the toilers of production in industry, in construction, and on farms. Why should socialism be for them—you know that socialism is beginning for them, too [laughter] real socialism. Come on, comrades, there is no other criterion. Each and everyone—man or labor collective—should feel according to how they work. How many interesting ideas! You put the question correctly. I think that all this has gotten under way with us, will get under way now, as there is no other way. The only thing one has to think about is what one has to do to break that monopoly of large-scale suppliers. It should be done in the following way: If their equipment is of substandard

quality, low performance, and expensive, then it simply will not be bought, and that is all. [applause] [end recording] [passage omitted]

The floor is then given to Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the country's State Agro-Industrial Committee. He noted that agricultural production so far has been growing at a slow pace. This is happening not only due to the causes voiced by the delegates, but also because of the inertia of the kolkhoz leaders themselves, because of crude violations of technology and poor application of the scientific and technological achievements. Comrade Murakhovskiy admitted that the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee has not succeeded in breaking the departmental interests of machine-builders. [passage omitted]

The congress will continue its work tomorrow.

'Critical Remarks' on Draft Law
LD241753 Moscow TASS in English 1725 GMT
24 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 24 TASS—A TASS correspondent reports from the Kremlin:

The restructuring process which has pervaded all spheres of life in the Soviet Union opens up a new stage of the cooperative movement, including that in the country's agriculture. This is the opinion of participants in the fourth congress of the collective farmers of the USSR.

A discussion of the draft Law on Cooperatives in the USSR is one of the items on the agenda of the congress which is in session in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses for the second day.

Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who addressed the congress on Wednesday, emphasized that "the core of the document is the recognition of the cooperative sector as an equal component of the unified national economic complex of the country". A special section in the draft law is dealing with the activities of collective farms and other agriculture cooperatives.

The participants in the discussion welcomed the right being granted to the collective farms under the draft law to tackle the processing of agricultural raw materials, food production, trade, and building work. The state will be bound to render assistance to collective farms in the development of these types of activity.

The delegates also support the collective farms' right, sealed in the document, to lease part of land allotted to them and fixed assets both to other enterprises and individuals, to set up various rural cooperatives, and to engage in foreign economic operations.

Really, the draft law gives wide scope to initiative. For example, cooperatives and associations may be set up in the countryside for the construction of houses and intra-farm roads, and for the joint management of small holdings. The draft law allows the setting up of cooperatives to rent tractors, motor vehicles and other machinery.

Critical remarks about the draft law were also voiced at the congress. In particular, speakers often expressed the idea that a Law on Cooperatives should protect cooperators from high prices of farm machinery, of which the state sector of the economy is the monopoly producer.

Aleksandr Dubko, director of the "Progress" collective farm in Belorussia, drew the attention of those present to an unjustified, from his point of view, price-rise on engineering products. The price-rise rapidly outstrips the resources of rural cooperatives.

The same was also mentioned at the congress by Albert Kauls, chairman of the Adazi agrofirma in Soviet Latvia. He emphasized that tractors, harvesters, and mineral fertilisers being supplied to the collective farms had become much more expensive in recent years while their quality, unfortunately, had not risen.

On the whole, delegates to the congress are of the opinion that the new draft law will give a good impulse to the development of independence and initiative in the countryside.

Collectives' Role Assessed

LD241136 Moscow TASS in English 1120 GMT
24 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 24 TASS—TASS correspondent reports from the Kremlin:

The 4th All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers which deliberates in the Kremlin for the second day, is discussing how to use to the full potentialities of cooperatives for the further development of agricultural production in the country.

The role of collective farms in providing the country with agricultural goods is extremely great. Nearly 27,000 farms having 12.5 million people on their pay-roll turn out over 50 per cent of the gross agricultural output of the country. Whereas the gross agricultural output in the country, as a whole, rose by 9 per cent in the past two years, on collective farms—by 11 per cent.

Over the past two years the country received annually, on average, 30 million tons more of grain, 2.1 million tons more of meat and 8.2 million tons more of milk than in the previous five-year plan period (1981-1985). Much credit for this goes to collective farmers.

Congress delegates expressed satisfaction with their achievements, but they pointed out that the main work was still ahead: to fulfil mapped-out plans. Indeed, the most important task is to boost grain crops. Last year the country garnered in 211.3 million tons of grain. Wheat accounts for about 90-100 million tons of the total. The country's requirements in food wheat amount to 37-38 million tons. We need grain for fodder and not for food. It is fodder grain that we buy abroad.

The fulfilment of plans (it is planned to bring grain production to 250-255 million tons by 1990) will enable the country to cut considerably grain imports. Draft plans for the next five-year period (1991-1995) provide for annual grain production of 260-280 million tons of grain.

Figures are ambitious not only for long-term: but also for current plans. For instance, another 2.5 million tons of meat are planned to be added to the achieved annual production in the next three years of the current five-year plan. This will enable the country to boost per capita meat consumption by seven kilograms (now it totals 63 kg). Targets for boosting production of milk, fruit and vegetables are concrete as well.

The fulfilment of these plans depends, to a considerable extent, on collective farms, say congress participants. Therefore, they express thoughts, ideas and specific proposals aimed at improving affairs on collective farms.

Congress Approves Resolution

LD251354 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1045 GMT 25 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, 25 Mar (TASS)—The USSR's collective farm peasantry fully supports the CPSU's strategy of accelerating the country's social and economic development, says the resolution of the Fourth All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers.

In the resolution the congress expressed unanimous agreement with the points of the speech by Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, on the comprehensive development of collective farms on the basis of the creative use of Leninist ideas on the cooperative movement.

The basic tenets of the USSR Draft Law on Cooperatives are approved in the document.

Having assessed the positive changes in the development of the collective farm village since the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum and the 27th party congress, the congress noted that many collective farms had not managed over the ensuing years to make full use of their constantly growing economic production potential. There have been instances of infringements on collective farm democracy. The congress considered the all-round increase in food production based on the broad development of all forms of cooperation to be a most important task of the collective farm peasantry at the present stage, the document says.

To this end the congress resolution calls on collective farms to develop and strengthen their foreign economic and, especially, their direct links with the cooperatives, organizations, and firms of other countries, first of all the CEMA countries.

The resolution speaks of the need to develop glasnost and to deepen the democratic foundations of collective farm life. The need for further enhancing the role of the collective farm electoral bodies was particularly emphasized. The Union Farm Council is instructed to work out proposals on this to insert the appropriate changes in the existing legislation.

Congress Continues 25 Mar

*LD250903 Moscow Television Service
in Russian 0730 GMT 25 Mar 88*

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The Fourth All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers continues its work in Moscow. At the Kremlin Palace of Congresses the delegates and guests welcomed with applause Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and other party and state leaders. [video shows arrival of Gorbachev, Gromyko, Ryzhkov, Ligachev, Shcherbitskiy, Zaykov, Vorotnikov, Shevardnadze, Talyzin, and Demichev]

The meeting was conducted by (Valerian Vasiliyevich Burudzhan), chairman of the Porgranichnik collective farm of Brichanskiy Rayon, Moldavian SSR. He gave the floor to (Artur Yakovlevich Ernst), chairman of the (Zarya Altaya) collective farm, Zavyalovskiy Rayon, Altay Kray. The delegates continued their discussion of questions of speeding up the social and economic development of collective farms in the new conditions of economic management and democratization of management, the draft Law on the Cooperatives in the USSR, and changes in the model Kolkhoz Charter. The composition of the Union of the Council of Collective Farms [as heard] will be elected.

The congress is continuing its work. [video shows speakers at congress; also seen in the Presidium are: Demichev, Dolgikh, Razumovskiy, and Solomentsev]